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ABSTRACT

In the Summer of 1972, the San Mateo Union High School District's Human Relations Department sponsored a Multicultural Curriculum Workshop. The minimal goal was to create curriculum strategies leading to students' recognition and understanding of their attitudes, whether racist or not, and the consequences of such attitudes. A more ambitious goal was to promote necessary attitudinal changes: this is a continuing goal. The intent of the Social Science and English teachers engaged in the development and use of multicultural curriculum materials is to "tell it like it is" concerning the experiences of racial minorities. The goal is to help young people who are the students understand how one aspect of their social world operates and how in American society certain attitudes, actions and institutional structures have subordinated particular persons or groups because of their color. Perhaps of equal importance is the necessity of helping students become aware that the subordination of colored peoples came into being mainly because of the benefits provided to those who did the subordinating and that racism in its many facets persists mainly because it still yields significant psychological, economic, and political advantaged to millions of white Americans--and even to a few non-whites. The curriculum is developed along two vectors: (i) exploration of the causal relationships in inter-group problems; and (ii) exploration of selected aspects of American history and culture in terms of minority subcultures. (Author/JM)

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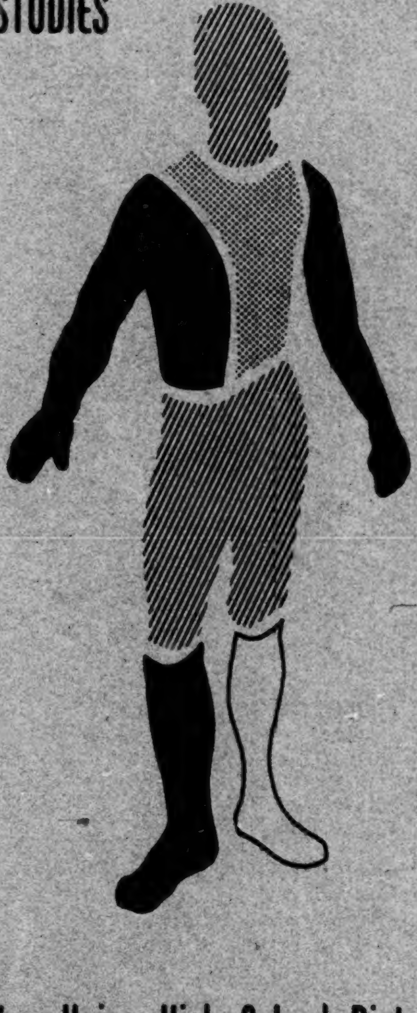
MULTICULTURAL CURRICULUMS

PHASE I ENGLISH AND SOCIAL STUDIES



Developed by the San Mateo Union High School District
Human Relations Department
Summer, 1972

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EXPERIMENTAL MATERIALS - NOT FOR PUBLICATION

A Resource for Teachers

MULTICULTURAL CURRICULUM MATERIALS

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MULTICULTURAL CURRICULUM GUIDELINES

Philosophical premise: Multicultural curriculum workshops in the past held as their basic premise the hypothesis that understanding of cultural differences from, contributions to, and commonalities with the main stream of American culture would suffice to help reduce racial tensions in the schools and the community. The belief was that prepared curriculum would serve a two-fold purpose:

1. The Caucasian student would learn and understand cultural differences and contributions to American society and somehow become more accepting of minority people.
2. Minority students would learn the same material. Then, once secure in their cultural identification, they would begin to accept middle American values and work and study harmoniously with their Caucasian peers, confident in the belief that there would be equal opportunity for all.

The racial situation in the United States and in this district has proved this hypothesis incorrect. First, our inter-group problems are not caused primarily by differences in minority sub-cultures (Internal Model) and, therefore, do not respond to treatment by strategies emphasizing an understanding of those differences. Rather they stem primarily from the racism and oppression inherent in the values of the majority culture (External Model). Second, because the San Mateo Union High School District is 88% Caucasian, the problems of inter-group relations are not "efficiently" dealt with by studying the minority problem (weak self-image, lack of cultural identity, etc.). Instead the focus must be on the Caucasian student and his potentially racist attitudes.

It is with the above in mind that this workshop has agreed to select a new focus (the majority student) and a new emphasis (the external model). Our minimal goal is to create curriculum strategies leading to students' recognition and understanding of their attitudes, whether racist or not, and the consequences of such attitudes. A more ambitious goal is to promote necessary attitudinal changes.

Below is the tentative framework for the above mentioned curriculum.

I. Exploration of the causal relationships in inter-group problems

  A. Primary Causes

    1. racism and oppression by the majority society

    2. behavioristic and psychological patterns of majority group in power

  B. Secondary Causes

    1. cultural differences vs. conformity

2. psychological factors (nature of man)

   - desire to control

3. technological changes

   - influences on life styles

4. desire for physical mobility

II. Exploration of selected aspects of American history and culture in terms of minority subcultures (Rationale: Although it may be a temporary situation, there exists in America today a number of minority subcultures. To function effectively in such a society requires an understanding of those subcultures.)

   A. Cultural differences and commonalities

   B. Contributions which have been synthesized into American culture

   C. Contributions not synthesized because of oppression

The intent of the Social Science and English teachers engaged in the development and use of multicultural curriculum materials is to "Tell it like it is" concerning the experiences of racial minorities. This means to describe situations and conditions affecting minorities as they really were and are, rather than in a diluted or euphemistic way. Further, it means that the realities of racism as it has operated in America must be faced rather than retreated from into comfortable historical myths or fantasies which make social progress and pursuit of justice seem impossible or irrelevant. The goal is to help young people who are the students understand how one aspect of their social world operates and how in American society certain attitudes, actions and institutional structures have subordinated particular persons or groups because of their color. Perhaps of equal importance is the necessity of helping students become aware that the subordination of colored peoples came into being mainly because of the benefits provided to those who did the subordinating and that racism in its many facets persists mainly because it still yields significant psychological, economic, and political advantages to millions of White Americans--and even to a few non-Whites.

Successful efforts to combat racism will necessarily reduce or eliminate these benefits, thereby imposing a significant cost upon people who now enjoy them. Despite the verbal commitment of many Americans to the political and economic doctrines of freedom and equality as well as religious doctrines of human brotherhood, it is because of the benefits conferred upon Whites, visible and hidden, that attempts to combat racism have been so strongly resisted. Students should realize that resistance to give up benefits of racism is far more widespread than most people think because so many Whites receive significant but only dimly realized benefits from the subordination of non-Whites. Also, many Whites who sincerely abhor racism in principle, and openly combat overt racism, sometimes find themselves resisting clearly anti-racist actions for "intuitive" reasons they do not clearly understand. This usually means actions, which threaten to reduce certain almost subconsciously perceived psychological benefits these Whites have been gaining from living in a society where they are tacitly considered members of a "superior" group.

Moving White students to develop toleration for non-Whites, and to understand and appreciate their unique cultural contributions has been the objective of so-called multi-ethnic curricula which have been developed in response to dramatic changes in perception of minorities within the past decade.

These multicultural materials focus on developing awareness of the social forces which influence the White attitudes, actions, and institutions as well as non-White responses to them. Before problems of racial subordination can be solved their extent, complexity and subtlety must be perceived and grasped.

It is hoped that these multicultural materials will be useful in expanding consciousness and ultimately conscience.

SECTION A

PROMISE AND PARADOX

PROMISE AND PARADOX

I. Title: Promise and Paradox

II. Time: One to two weeks (depending on amount of optional material included)

III. Introduction to Materials:

This unit is intended as an introduction to all other workshop materials. It offers a look at the American Dream and at statistics of current real conditions and then asks the student to pose and evaluate several hypotheses to explain the paradox posed by the American Dream and the statistics. The following units may be used to evaluate the hypotheses. The unit also contains a concept formation strategy for teaching the concept of racism (overt and institutional).

This lesson is designed for use in both U. S. History and English classes but may also be useful in other classes dealing with the problems of racism and American minorities. In U. S. History classes this unit might be plugged in chronologically with units on: The Revolutionary and Constitutional Periods, Immigration, and Minorities.

IV. General Statement of What is in Package:

Various statements of the American Dream (Founding Fathers, Immigrants, Minorities, Students), statistics showing present status of minority groups in American society, statements and explanations of various hypotheses exploring the paradox between the American Dream and the statistics, a definition of racism (overt and institutional), and a videotape of selected racist episodes are included in this unit.

V. Listing of Package Components:

A. Promise and Paradox
B. Exploration of Racism: Concept Formation Strategy
C. Two Theories on the Causes of Racial Inequality in American Today
D. Student Materials
E. Racism Spectrum Lesson
F. Racism in Action

PROMISE AND PARADOX

Behavioral Objectives:

1. Given the general goals offered in the Pledge of Allegiance, the Declaration of Independence, and the Preamble to the Constitution, the student will be able to rephrase those goals in terms of his own immediate and long-range aspirations.

2. Given his own aspirations and examples of student, immigrant, and minority aspirations, the student will identify similarities and differences between them and offer suggestions as to why the similarities and differences exist.
Note: The same objective might be written substituting expectations for aspiration.

3. Given a poem stating both the aspirations and the expectations of a minority person, the student will identify and distinguish between them. He will also offer logical explanations for possible discrepancies between expectations and aspirations.

4. Given a set of statistics concerning minority and White racial status in America and a list of interpretations of those statistics, the student will select those interpretations which are supported by the statistics.

5. Given a list of his own and a list of minority aspirations (relative to the stated principles of the Declaration of Independence), and a set of statistics concerning minority and White status in America, the student will state the paradox contained therein.

6. Given a statement of the paradox between aspirations and realistic expectations for minorities in America, the student will write an hypothesis which offers a possible explanation for that paradox.

7. Given a situation and two explanations of that situation, one based on the internal/Culture Conflict Model and the other on the external/Racism model, the student will be able to identify each of the explanations and its identifying characteristics.

8. Given a situation and either the internal or external hypothesis, the student will explain the situation in terms of that hypothesis.

9. Given either the internal hypothesis or the external hypothesis, the student will be able to correctly define it.

10. Given the internal and/or external hypothesis and some data, the student will be able to indicate whether that data supports or refutes the hypothesis.

11. Given an hypothesis and the goals and activities of a government minority program (e.g. Headstart, Upward Bound, etc.) the student will judge the possible effectiveness of that program based on the assumption that the hypothesis is correct. Materials to achieve this objective have not yet been developed.

12. Given examples of social behavior, the student will identify examples that demonstrate racism.

13. Given examples of racism, students will distinguish between examples of overt and institutional racism.

14. Given examples of racism (both overt and institutional), the student will write a definition of racism and definitions of overt and institutional racism which are mutually exclusive.

15. Given an evaluation lesson sheet, the student will indicate enjoyment of the lesson racism and a willingness to study additional related material.

A. PROMISE AND PARADOX

1. Distribute and explain page A23 (student handouts). It is recommended that the students merely discuss (rather than write) their immediate aspirations. However, they should first jot down their ideas to provide a basis for discussion. This preliminary writing might be done in small groups.

2. Distribute and explain page A24 (student handouts). It is possible with this page to provide a varying degree of focus in order to meet the needs of your students. You may leave out the focusing points (housing, etc.) entirely or you may indicate which of the points best apply to each of the general goals (e.g. liberty and justice, crime, and administration of law).

3. Discuss the students' responses to the material on page A24. See if there is a class consensus as to their long-range aspirations. Put this information on the board. The following questions might prove useful after this has been completed:

   a. What is/was the source of these aspirations?
   b. If there is a variety of sources, does this help to explain the lack of consensus?
   c. Why aren't your aspirations realistic? (Get at the idea that there are many goals that Whites as well as minorities may not attain.)

4. At this point the teacher may choose to include the following optional content. Have students read the attached statements of the American Dream made by various students (page A27) and immigrants (pages A25 and A26). Then have them answer the following questions:

   a. What were their aspirations?
   b. Do they differ from yours? If so, in what way? and why?

   Historical information relative to the various immigrant groups might be added here.

   It is recommended that students research other immigrant groups and write statements of their aspirations. They might gather this information through interviews with recent immigrants taking English as a Second Language in night school.

5. Have students read the poem "Dreams Deferred" by Langston Hughes (page A28) with the following questions in mind:

   a. What are his aspirations?
   b. What are his expectations (realistic goals he has reason to believe he will attain)?
   c. Why is there a discrepancy between his aspirations and expectations?
   d. Are his aspirations similar to your own? Why or why not?

   The poems "The Bean Eaters" and "Old Mary" (page A29) may be substituted or added at this point. Similar questions may be asked concerning them.

6. Introduce the attached blank statistics chart (page A30) for students to make guesses about how different groups compare in the United States. Require students to make a commitment on paper even though they may feel very inadequate about their ability to make reasonable guesses.

a. Get a reading of class thinking by making a rough chart of class opinions on the board or on an overhead projector. Look for trends (e.g. in education, Asian Americans are most often placed at the top of the scale while Blacks are placed at the bottom).

b. Try to get students to make a few generalizations on the basis of class chart; for example, Asian American students do better than Blacks; Chicanos are worse off than Blacks, etc.

7. Pass out the completed data sheet (page A31).

   a. Test student understanding of the data by asking a few questions to make sure everyone can locate, for example, figures that show whether Blacks have a higher income than Chicanos.

   b. Ask students to point out where the class chart contrasts most sharply with the actual data.

   c. Ask students to explore why the perception of the class and their own perceptions did or did not differ from real conditions.

   d. Ask students to identify the minority groups for which they think the statistics show that there is a conflict between the "American Dream" and the reality of America.

8. Assign homework that asks students to:

   a. Briefly describe the paradox shown by the contrast between the ideals of America and the statistics demonstrating unequal participation in this ideal.

   b. Write three or four hypotheses that they think help explain this paradox.

9. The goal of this class session is to help students develop a simple working understanding of the culture conflict and racism explanations of the paradox. One possible strategy is outlined. You may want to vary your approach.

   a. Place a large number of student hypotheses or hunches on the board (from their homework assignments).

   b. Ask students to group the hunches if they can see any possible categories or theories that might tie hunches together.

   c. Briefly introduce two basic explanations or theories (see attached teacher explanation (page A13).

      1) culture conflict
      2) racism

   d. Ask students to try to place their hunches (from 9a above) into the more appropriate theory (culture conflict or racism).

   e. Pass out a case study with two titled explanations (page A37) and ask students to point out parts of each explanation which are characteristic of the culture conflict and racism explanations.

f. Pass out a second case study (page A38) without explanations and ask students to identify which of the explanations is culture conflict and which one is racism.

g. Homework assignment. Pass out brief one-page statements of both the culture conflict and racism theories (page A13) and a third case study (page A39). Ask students to write a case study explanation from the perspective of both the racism and culture conflict theories.

or

Ask students to decide which theory they would like to use in class and write an explanation from the point of view of that one theory.

Suggested class model: Most students will attempt to use both hypotheses as possible lenses for studying in future units. A few students will focus all their attention on trying to prove that one hypothesis is either true or false.

Explain to students at this time that a major goal of the class will be to explore the strengths and weaknesses of these two contrasting explanations of the experiences of minority people in American history. After studying in future units, the student will be asked to make a statement about what he believes to be true (with emphasis on his personal feelings),

B. EXPLORATION OF RACISM: CONCEPT FORMATION STRATEGY

Pretest:

1. Give students the racism quiz (pages A40-A41) as a pretest. Students will ask for definitions of the terms "overt racism," etc. Resist. To give in will invalidate the pretest.

Input:

2. Give students the videotape worksheet and ask them to describe what happens in each vignette. (Teacher key attached, page A42.)

3. Show videotape presenting 11 vignettes involving racism. This might be shown several times if students have difficulty getting or recording impressions.

Listing:

4. List student descriptions of the vignettes on the board or overhead projector. These should include a description of each event and the reason given for the action taken (e.g. Chinese man is rejected by club (event) because of color (reason).) A question such as "Can you be more specific about what happened in that episode?" might help elicit the needed response.

Labeling:

5. Ask students to write a definition (description) broad enough to include all the behaviors listed on the board (e.g. activities that restrict members of racial minorities). Ask if they know the term which fits the definition (racism). If not, provide the term. It's not important to play guess my word.

Grouping:

6. Ask students to group the list of descriptions by any criteria they find useful. Everything in a group must have something in common.

Labeling:

7. Ask students to describe the basis for their grouping. Then ask for a heading for each group.

   Note: It is expected that the students will include a pair of groupings based on the reason given for the actions taken in the vignettes. These groupings may be labeled overt racism (color is given as the reason for restriction) and institutional racism (a reason other than color is given for restriction).

8. Have students read the prepared definitions of racism, overt racism, and institutional racism (page A43). Then have them compare these definitions with the ones they just constructed. Point out similarities and differences.

9. Present and discuss some non-examples of racism (i.e. situations involving no subordination even though the decision maker is aware of and takes into account someone's color or race).

10. Divide students into small groups and have them list and explain examples of overt and institutional racism from their own experiences. Suggested areas for examination might help (i.e. school, social and/or friendship groups, family, church, neighborhood, parents' employment, etc.). Discuss as a class. Expect students to have more difficulty thinking of examples of institutional racism. Note: This part of the lesson might be effectively given as homework.

11. Give students the racism quiz (pages A40-A41) as a posttest. Collect and compare with pretest results.

12. Return both pre and posttests and use results as basis for class discussion. At this point be sure to mention the possible ambiguity of several of the questions. Use these questions to generate further discussion and thinking. This test is more a learning/teaching tool than a definitive evaluation instrument. You might possible have students rewrite one of the questions they may have found to be particularly ambiguous.

    Note: This strategy for concept formation may be used for introduction of any new concept.

13. The attached Student Evaluation of Racism Lesson Form (following page) may be given to students at this time. (Responses included (A10) were given by students who tested this lesson - summer, 1972. A videotape of the lesson is also available.)

    Quiz Answers: Several of these answers are certainly open to discussion depending on how much you read into the statements.

    1. 2
    2. 2 or 3
    3. 1
    4. 1
    5. 2
    6. 4
    7. 2
    8. 1
    9. 1
    10. 2
    11. 2

Student Evaluation of Racism Lesson

23 Students responding August 3, 1972

The racism lesson you participated in yesterday was a small part of a unit being developed in a multicultural curriculum workshop. This brief questionnaire is designed to help us evaluate and change units before they are used in regular district classes. Your candid evaluation and comments will be much appreciated.

Instructions: Match the following statements about the class with the opinion which best describes your feelings. Space is also provided for you to explain your comments on each of the questions.

A = Strongly agree B = Agree C = Disagree D = Strongly disagree E = No opinion

D 1. This class was really boring. A = 1 B = 1 C = 6 D = 15

D 2. This class wasn't worthwhile because it was a rehash of material I've studied in other classes. C = 10 D = 12 E = 1

A 3. The TV vignettes were an interesting way to get me thinking about different kinds of racism. A = 4 B = 13 C = 3 D = 1 E = 1

D 4. I still find the definition of institutional racism confusing. A = 2 B = 8 C = 10 D = 1

D 5. I felt this lesson was attempting to force me to think the way the teachers think. A = 2 B = 2 C = 9 D = 6 E = 4

D 6. I would have learned more in half the time if the teachers had lectured to us. A = 1 C = 5 D = 15 E = 2

D 7. One bad thing about this lesson is that people may start calling behavior racist which is not racist at all. A = 1 B = 5 C = 11 D = 1 E = 5

D 8. I really don't understand how an IQ test can be considered an instrument of racism. A = 2 B = 4 C = 11 D = 5 E = 1

A 9. I would like to study more of this unit in the fall. A = 7 B = 10 C = 3 D = 1 E = 2

D 10. I stopped thinking about this class the moment the bell rang and I haven't thought about the issues raised since. B = 4 C = 13 D = 6

B 11. The basic learning objective for this unit was to:

A. Persuade students that all Americans are racists.
15 - B. Enable students to distinguish between overt and institutional racism.
5 - C. Increase student's feelings of guilt about their personal contributions to racism.
1 - D. Prove that racism is wrong.
2 - E. No opinion.

D 12. I found the questions in the test difficult to interpret. A = 4 B = 8 C = 10 D = 1

OPEN ENDED COMMENTS

On the back of this paper please write any comments that either expand your earlier comments or present other reactions you have to this lesson.

Sample responses from lesson administered to summer school class, 1972:

1. There was enough variety.
   Boring, but it was better than history.

2. I never was taught about this.
   Never had anything like it at this school.

3. There were a lot.
   The TV gave me a weird feeling.
   Need more time between vignettes to evaluate what had just happened.

4. A little confusing, but better than before.

5. I have a right to be a bigot.

6. They were not so fantastic.
   Lectures definitely wouldn't have worked.

7. Might, but not likely.

8.

9. It is interesting.
   Very much.

10.

11. Mostly taught me what racism really is.

12. Yes.
    There were many different ways to interpret the questions.

Open ended comments:

I thought that this lesson was really significant. It really makes you realize what racism is, but not to make you feel guilty.

The thing that I don't understand is that if a person owns a place and won't let anyone in because he doesn't wear a tie, and a Negro isn't let in because he doesn't have a tie, the owner is called a racist. This I think is not true. If the guy doesn't want any one without ties in his place, that's his business whether the guy is Black or White.

It was hard sometimes to know exactly how much to read into the sentences. I had to figure it out myself. I thought the acting out was very effective and should be continued.

I still don't understand institutional racism or racism itself. Didn't really have enough time. Everything was rushed through. It was really interesting what we discussed. Don't really understand "reverse racism." Sounds like minorities are backwards.

I felt this class was interesting. It increased my knowledge of racism almost 100%.

I feel that this was interesting and very good, but I wish that more minority background was covered. I suppose that it was hard to get everthing in though, and considering the amount of time, it was a good lesson to help stimulate our own ideas on racism.

I learned a lot from the few hours that we spent discussing this topic, and it was very interesting.

I thought this class was very good. Your class got people to wake up and participate who haven't done that all year. This class was also good because there was no way to palm off pat answers.

I think what really turned me off was that test (racism quiz). It could have been written by a two year old.

The questions have to be written more clearly so that you allow the student to interpret it in a more distinct manner. Too many of the questions could be interpreted as both overt or institutional racism.

RACISM QUIZ - ANALYSIS

(Based on 23 Quiz Responses)

I. Number of correct answers for each question:

Question #	Pretest	Posttest
1	11	19
2	6	15
3	15	20
4	3	21
5	6	17
6	7	6
7	10	3
8	13	18
9	3	10
10	11	19

II. Score Distribution

Number of Questions Answered "Incorrectly"	Pretest	Posttest
1		
2		𝍸 𝍷
3	𝍷	𝍸 𝍷
4	𝍷	𝍷𝍷𝍷
5	𝍸	𝍷𝍷𝍷𝍷
6	𝍷𝍷𝍷𝍷	𝍷𝍷𝍷
7	𝍸 𝍷𝍷𝍷	
8	𝍷𝍷𝍷	
9	𝍷	𝍷
10		

Median = 7 incorrect
Mean = 6.3 incorrect

Median = 3 incorrect
Mean = 3.8 incorrect

C. TWO THEORIES ON THE CAUSES OF RACIAL INEQUALITY IN AMERICA TODAY

Statistical evidence clearly demonstrates that chances for success in American society are dramatically lessened if one happens to be born a member of a racial minority. There is lively dispute, however, on why this is true, and what, if anything, society should do to correct the situation. Many Americans feel that today anyone who cares can succeed in our society because there is equal opportunity for everyone regardless of racial background. If seen as a problem, the difficulty lies in motivating minority people to take advantage of existing social and economic opportunities so they can make it on their own. The challenge for the White community is to help link minorities with mainstream America by more successfully teaching them the values and skills of the dominant White culture. If the conflict between the culture of the racial minorities and the American culture can be overcome, there will be no reason for racially unequal statistics to remain.

Although the above theory of culture conflict does focus on White failure to teach American values and skills, it is basically a non-threatening hypothesis because it does not question the basic validity of White culture. It has been much more difficult for White America to objectively consider a contrasting theory which sees the failure of minority group members as the direct result of the racism of the dominant White society. According to this analysis, the way to promote significant change is to alter the racist White institutions. Attempts to change the values of the minority cultures will have no real effect because the barriers of White racism will remain and, more importantly, the cultural norms of American society's "minority" cultures will continue as largely reflex reactions and reflections to pressures of prejudiced White society.

Racism

Racism is any attitude, action, or institutional structure which subordinates a person or group because of his or their color. White racism exhibits itself in hundreds of ways in American society and that can be usefully grouped into two basic categories: overt racism, and indirect institutional subordination because of color.

Overt racism is the use of color *per se* as a subordinating factor. For more than 300 years overt racism was a central part of American life. Slavery was the most terrible form of legal subordination, but overt actions included the defeat and consequent inhumane treatment of the American Indians, the ostracism which has been accorded the Chicanos, and the Asian exclusion laws. In addition, a wide variety of laws such as segregated schools, separation of public facilities, denial of the right to vote, and restrictive covenants keep White neighborhoods free from people of color, and thus help to perpetuate a racist system.

Indirect institutional subordination because of color is the act or process of placing or keeping persons in a position or status of inferiority by means of attitudes, actions, or institutional structures which do not use color itself as the subordinating mechanism, but instead use other mechanisms indirectly related to color. Institutional subordination is difficult to define or accept because it can occur even if the people causing it have no intention of subordinating others because of color or are totally unaware of doing so. For example, a business may decide to end its policy of discrimination and hire new workers solely on the basis of merit. If the only way to get the necessary training to compete, however, is to attend a White suburban high school or be accepted in a labor union not open to minority members, the effect of the new merit policy is to continue the policy of hiring only Whites. The policy is thus an unintended example of institutional subordination.

It is important to recognize and emphasize that people who support institutional subordination are not racists in the same sense as those who practice overt racism. Their actions are often unintentional and may even be unrelated to a solution of the problem. For example, the sensible way to get rid of the subordinating impact of "merit employment" is certainly not to require employers to hire unqualified minority group workers but rather to fund programs that provide needed training and open up membership in the labor unions.

The important point remains that racism can be a matter of result rather than intention, and minority group members today suffer just as much from institutional subordination as they do from deliberate racism. But most people in America are not as able to recognize, or as ready to admit, that institutional racism is just as violent as overt racism and just as corrosive to our national goals.

One cannot end even a brief attempt at defining racism without pointing out that overt racism and institutional subordination provide significant economic, political, and psychological benefits to the dominant White majority in America. Reduction of job competition, avoidance of certain undesirable jobs, economic exploitation in ghetto housing, and political manipulation are a few examples. In addition, Whites may have only an unconscious awareness of the psychological benefits that come from living in a society where they are considered members of a superior group. It is only natural that most people should be reluctant to consider openly the benefits which they derive from the oppression of others.

The social and psychological effects on people of color living in a society where they are considered inferior are, however, pronounced. The effect of racism is fused here with tragic irony because White-caused feelings of inferiority and self-hatred for people of color create a despair that leads often to the violence and apparent lack of motivation that reinforces the White feelings of superiority.

This definition of racism is directly based on the thinking of a pamphlet entitled "Racism in America" published by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights in 1971. There obviously are enormous difficulties in writing an acceptable definition for a phenomenon as complex and emotion laden as racism. Although in our judgment this definition represents the best of informed thinking, it will certainly not be either understood or accepted easily by many students and teachers. The purpose of this note is to suggest some of the possible areas of potential misunderstanding and criticism which have been raised in classroom testing and extensive discussions.

This definition of racism includes behavior which is not considered by many Americans to be racist -- and indeed should not be considered to be racist in terms of how that word is usually understood. It is not very accurate or productive, for example, to label a school counselor a racist because he conscientiously uses I.Q. test scores to place all students into class sections. The effect of using I.Q. tests to assign Chicano students is, however, often to subordinate them just as effectively as if the counselor looked at their names and pictures only before assigning them into remedial classes. This kind of unintentional subordination is included under our definition of institutional racism. We may, therefore, have something we label racism in a situation where people are not discriminating and may not be prejudiced. This idea of racism without conscious racists is difficult for many people to accept but is crucial to an understanding of the problems of people of color in contemporary America.

The logical difficulty involved in accepting the unconscious and unintentional dimension of racism is analogous to the resistance that common sense puts up to the idea that the success of the Prevent Forest Fires campaign of Smokey the Bear is actually creating major forest fires. The evidence is growing, however, that this is indeed true. Before Man became intent on trying to prevent forest fires, periodic natural fires occurred on the average every eight years which burned off ground brush and thus prevented great destructive forest fires of intense heat from developing. The great forest fires today often become possible only because they are fueled by several feet of brush and undergrowth that has not been allowed to burn off because of the vigilance of Man. No one quarrels with the intent of Smokey the Bear to eliminate forest fires. If we ignore the effect of his program, however, we may actively contribute to the destruction of American forests. The danger of dismissing Smokey the Bear as a cause of forest fires is very much like the danger involved in dismissing the actions of people and institutions in our society that are not intended to, but do in fact, cause the subordination of people of color.

Many people instinctively reject the non-overt dimension of racism at the gut level because it seems to equate the actions of people recognized as racist bigots with the actions of well meaning people who are striving to rise above prejudice. The very suggestion of racist tendencies is capable of making people become defensive and even openly hostile. In order to help overcome this reaction, it may be helpful to sketch a spectrum of racism which will accent the fact that there are different degrees of racism which call for different responses. Hopefully, the spectrum may help make it possible to discuss the subtle but pervasive forms of racism which are located on the 7-10 place on the scale below. Common sense insists that one should clearly distinguish this type of racism from more overt forms, but social reality insists that we expand our awareness of what we define as institutional racism.

Racism Spectrum

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

A B C C E

A. Overt subordination by physical violence against people because of their color. (i.e. whipping slaves, genocide of Indians, police attacks with sticks aimed selectively)

B. Overt subordination of people because of their color which is not direct physical harm. (segregation of schools, job discrimination)

C. Institutional subordination of people because of their color which is not overt but which is intended to produce the same general effect as overt subordination. (refusal to rent apartment to Mexican for manufactured reason such as "Your credit rating is not high enough")

D. Institutional subordination of people because of their color which is neither overt or intentional but which in fact causes or maintains subordination. (I.Q. tests being used to place students)

E. Institutional subordination because of color which occurs when objective policies such as merit hiring have the effect of subordination because of the strong residual effect of past overt racism in the society. (College admission based on achievement tests)*

This definition of racism might be criticized for ignoring the idea of social class and misusing the idea of race. In brief response, we can only emphasize that racism is not being suggested as the exclusive cause of social inequality of people of color. There is no question but that social class also has a decisive impact. It is beyond the scope of this note to explore the complex web of interaction between racism and social class, but we can, however, affirm our belief that there is a real difference between being poor and White and being poor and a person of color in American -- and it is racism and not social class which explains that difference. This whole question would be a good one for further teacher and/or student research.

Finally, in response to possible criticism of our use of the idea of race, we feel that the issue is largely one of semantics. We have labelled actions as being "racist" when they subordinate an individual or group of people because of their color. In a technical sense, some anthropologists might argue that when White people subordinate Mexicans this cannot be considered racism because both groups belong to the same race. One might argue for years about the validity of the concept of race used in this critism, but we think it best to simply restate that our use of the concept racism is to describe the subordination of people because of their color and is simply not tied to theories of race.

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*An excellent example of point E is the Federally sponsored housing boom which followed World War II. Returning White soldiers were able to purchase homes and develop an equity in the American housing market because Federal loans guaranteed that the lending rate could be maintained at 3%-4%. People of color, however, were not permitted to partake of this largess and therefore do not now have that same equity--even though it is true that the rent non-White G.I. families paid was as much or more than the housing payments White G.I.'s made.

THE WHITE PROBLEM IN AMERICA -- Lerone Bennett, Jr.

The problem of race in America, insofar as that problem is related to packets of melanin in men's skins, is a white problem. And in order to solve that problem we must seek its source, not in the Negro but in the white American (in the process by which he was educated, in the needs and complexes he expresses through racism) and in the structure of the white community (in the power arrangements and the illicit uses of racism in the scramble for scarce values: power, prestige, income).

The depth and intensity of the race problem in America is, in part, a result of a one-hundred-year flight from that unpalatable truth. It was a stroke of genius really for white Americans to give Negro Americans the name of their problem, thereby focusing attention on symptoms (the Negro and the Negro community) instead of causes (the white man and the white community).

When we say that the causes of the race problem are rooted in the white American and the white community, we mean that the power is the white American's and so is the responsibility. We mean that the white American created, invented the race problem and that his fears and frailties are responsible for the urgency of the problem.

When we say that the fears of white Americans are at the root of the problem, we mean that the white American is a problem to himself and that because he is a problem to himself he has made others problems to themselves.

When we say that the white American is a problem to himself we mean that racism is a reflection of personal and collective anxieties lodged deep in the hearts and minds of white Americans.

By all this, we must understand that Harlem is a white-made thing and that in order to understand Harlem we must go not to Harlem but to the conscience of white Americans and we must ask not what is Harlem but what have you made of Harlem. Why did you create it? And why do you need it?

The validity of this approach has been underlined by many experts, including Gunnar Myrdal who began his massive work on the Negro (*An American Dilemma*) by admitting in so many words that he had studied the wrong people. "Although the Negro problem is a moral issue both to the Negroes and to whites in America," *he* wrote . . . "we shall in this book have to give *primary* attention to what goes on in the minds of white Americans . . . . When the present investigator started his inquiry, his preconception was that it had to be focused on the Negro people and their peculiarities . . . But as he proceeded in his studies into the Negro problem, it became increasingly evident that little, if anything, could be scientifically explained in terms of the peculiarities of the Negroes themselves . . . It is thus the white majority group that naturally determines the Negro's place. All our attempts to reach scientific explanations of why the Negroes are what they are and why they live as they do have regularly led to determinants on the white side of the racial line. In the practical and political struggles of effecting changes, the views and attitudes of the white Americans are likewise strategic. The Negro's entire life, and, consequently, also his opinions on the Negro problem, are, in the main, to be considered as secondary reactions to more primary pressures from the side of the dominant white majority."

Scores of investigators have reached the same conclusions: namely, that the peculiarities of white folk are the primary determinants of the American social problem.

Consider, for example, the testimony of James Weldon Johnson, the great Negro leader:

> . . . . the main difficulty of the race question does not lie so much in the actual condition of the blacks as it does in the mental attitude of the whites.

Johnson also said:

> The race question involves the saving of black America's body and white America's soul.

White Americans have perceived the same truth. Author Ray Stannard Baker wrote:

> It keeps coming to me that this is more a white man's problem than it is a Negro problem.

So it seemed also to Thomas P. Bailey, a Southern white:

> The real problem (he wrote) is not the Negro but the white man's attitude toward the Negro.

And again:

> Yes, we Southerners need a freedom from suspicion, fear, anxiety, doubt, unrest, hate, contempt, disgust, and all the rest of the race-feeling-begotten brood of vituperation.

Ralph McGill, another Southerner, made a similar observation:

> We do not have a minority problem but a majority problem.

Of like tone and tenor was the perceptive statement of Thomas Merton, the Trappist monk:

> The purpose of non-violent protest, in its deepest and most spiritual dimension, is then to awaken the conscience of the white man to the awful responsibility of his injustice and sin, so that he will be able to see that the Negro problem is really a white problem: that the cancer of injustice and hate which is eating white society and is only partly manifested in racial segregation with its consequences, is rooted in the heart of the white man himself. (Merton's emphasis)

It is there, "in the heart of the white man himself," in his peculiarities, in his mental attitudes, in his need for "a freedom from suspicion, fear, anxiety, doubt, unrest, hate, contempt, disgust," that we must situate the racial problem. For here, as elsewhere, the proper statement of the problem, though not a solution, is at least a strong step in the right direction. For too long now we have focused attention on the Negro, forgetting the Negro is who he is because white people are what they are. In our innocence -- and in our guile -- we have spoken of Negro crime, when the problem is white crime; we have spoken of the need for educating

Negroes, when the problem is the education of whites; we have spoken of the lack of responsible Negro leadership, when the problem is the lack of responsible white leadership.

The premise of this special issue is that America can no longer afford the luxury of ignoring its real problem: the white problem. To be sure, Negroes are not blameless. It takes two to tango and the Negro, at the very least, is responsible for accepting the grapes of degradation. But that, you see, has nothing to do with the man who is responsible for the degradation. The prisoner is always free to try to escape. What the jailer must decide is whether he will help escaping prisoners over the wall or shoot them in the back. And the lesson of American life is that no Negro -- no matter how much money he accumulated, no matter how many degrees he earned -- has ever crossed completely the wall of color-caste, except by adopting the expedient of passing. Let us come to that point and stand on it. Negroes are condemned in America, not because they are poor, not because they are uneducated, not because they are brown or black -- Negroes are condemned in America because they are Negroes, i.e., because of an idea of the Negro and of the Negro's place in the white American's mind.

When we say that the race problem in America is a white problem, we mean that the real problem is an irrational and anti-scientific idea of race in the minds of white Americans. Let us not be put off by recitations of "social facts." Social facts do not make Negroes; on the contrary, it is the idea of the Negro which organizes and distorts social facts in order to make "Negroes." Hitler, who had some experience in the matter, said social facts are sustainers and not creators of prejudice. In other words: If we assume that Negroes are inferior and if we use that assumption as a rationale for giving Negroes poor schools, poor jobs, and poor housing, we will sooner or later create a condition which "confirms" our assumption and "justifies" additional discrimination.

No: Social facts are not at the heart of the problem. In fact, social facts tell us more about whites, about their needs, insecurities, and immaturities, than about Negroes. Many Negroes are poor, but so are forty to fifty million American whites. Some Negro women have babies out of wedlock, but so do millions of middle-class American white women. Racists and millions of "normal" white Americans know this; but they are not and cannot be convinced for their knowledge precedes facts. Because the idea of race intervenes between the concrete Negro and the social fact, Negro intellectuals and white racists rarely, if ever, understand each other. What the white racist means by social facts is that there are "Negro social facts," that Negroes, by virtue of their birth, have within them a magical substance that gives facts a certain quality. He means by that there is a Negro and a white way of being poor, that there is a Negro and a white way of being immoral, that, in his mind, white people and black people are criminals in different ways. As a result of this magical thinking, millions on millions of white Americans are unable to understand that slums, family disorganization, and illiteracy are not the causes of the racial problem, but the end product of the problem.

The problem, in essence, is racism. But we misunderstand racism completely if we do not understand that racism is a mask for a much deeper problem involving not the victims of racism but the perpetrators. We must come to see that racism in America is the poor man's way out and the powerful man's way in: a way in for the powerful who derive enormous profits from the divisions in our society: a way out for the frustrated and frightened who excuse economic, social, and sexual failure by convincing themselves that no matter how low they fall they are still higher and better than Harry Belafonte, Ralph Bunche, Cassius Clay, and Martin Luther King, Jr., all rolled up into one.

We must realize also that prejudice on all levels reflects a high level of personal and social disorganization in the white community. On a personal level, particularly among lower-income and middle-income whites, prejudice is an avenue of flight, a cry of help from desperate men stifling in the prisons of their skins. Growing up in a culture permeated with prejudice, imbibing it, so to speak, with their milk, millions of white Americans find that Negroes are useful screens to hide themselves from themselves. Repeated studies have shown that Negro hate is, in part, a socially sanctioned outlet for personal and social anxieties and frustrations. From this standpoint, racism is a flight from the "self," a flight from freedom, a flight from the intolerable burdens of being a man in a menacing world.

Not all white Americans are biased, of course, but all white Americans and all America have been affected by bias. This issue suggests that we need to know a great deal more about how white Americans exhibit their whiteness, and how some white Americans, to a certain extent, rise above early conditioning through non-Communist radicalism or liberalism.

The racist impulse, which white Americans express in different ways but which almost all white Americans express, either by rebelling against it or by accepting it, reflects deep forces in the dominant community. There is considerable evidence, for example, that the culture's stress on success and status induces exaggerated anxieties and fears which are displaced onto the area of race relations. The fear of failure, the fear of competitors, the fear of losing status, of not living in the "right" neighborhood, of not having the "right" friends or the "right" gadgets, these fears weigh heavily on the minds of millions of white Americans and lead to a search for avenues of escape. And so the second- or third-generation factory worker or the poor white farmer who finds himself at a dead end with a nagging wife, a problem child, and a past-due bill may take out his aggressive feelings and his frustrations in race hatred.

The concept of the Negro problem as a white problem suggests that there is a need for additional research to determine to what extent Negro hate is a defense against self-hate. It also suggests that attention should be directed to the power gains of highly placed politicians and businessmen who derive direct power gains from the division of our population into mutually hostile groups. By using racism, consciously or unconsciously, to divert public discontent and to boost the shaky egos of white groups on or near the bottom, men of power in America have played a key role in making racism a permanent structure of our society.

It is fashionable nowadays to think of racism as a vast impersonal systemafor which no one is responsible. But this is still another evasion. Racism did not fall from the sky. It was not secreted by insects. Racism in America was made by men, neighborhood by neighborhood, law by law, restrictive covenant by restrictive covenant, deed by deed.

It is not remembered often enough today that the color-caste vise, which constricts both Negroes and whites, was created out of whole cloth by men of power who artificially separated Negroes and whites who got on famously in Colonial America. This is a fact of capital importance in considering the white problem. The first black immigrants in America were not slaves; nor, for the most part, were the first white immigrants free. Most of the English colonists, in the beginning, were white indentured servants possessing remarkably little racial prejudice.

Back there, in the beginning, Negro and white indentured servants worked together in the same fields, lived together in the same huts, and played together after working hours. And, of course, they also mated and married. So widespread was intermingling during this period that Peter Fontain and other writers said the land "swarmed with mulatto" children.

From 1619 to about 1660, a period of primary importance in the history of America, America was not ruled by color. Some, perhaps all, of the first group of African-Americans worked out their terms of servitude and were freed. Within a few years, Negroes were accumulating property, pounds, and indentured servants. One Negro immigrant, Richard Johnson, even imported a white man and held him in servitude.

The breaking of the developing bonds of community between Negro and white Americans began with a conscious decision by the power structures of Colonial America. In the 1660's men of power in the colonies decided that human slavery, based on skin color, was to be the linchpin of the new society. Having made this decision, they were forced to take another, more ominous step. Nature does not prepare men for the roles of master or racist. It requires rigid training, long persisted in, to make men and women deny other men and women and themselves. Men must be carefully taught to hate, and the lessons learned by one generation must be relearned by the next.

The Negro and white working class of the 1660's, the bulk of the population, had not been prepared for the roles outlined in the new script of statutes. It was necessary, therefore, to teach them that they could not deal with each other as fellow human beings.

How was this done?

It was done by an assault on the Negro's body and the white man's souls.

Legislatures ground out laws of every imaginable description and vigilantes whipped the doubtful into line. Behind the night riders, of course, stood God himself in the person of parsons who blessed the rupture in human relations with words from the Bible.

Who was responsible for this policy?

The planters, the aristocrats, the parsons, the lawyers, the Founding Fathers -- the good people. They created the white problem.

Men would say later that there is a natural antipathy between Negro and white Americans. But the record belies them. Negro and white Americans were taught to hate and fear each other by words, sermons, whips, and signed papers. The process continued over a period of more than a hundred years, a period which saw the destruction of the Negro family and the exclusion of Negro workers from one skilled trade after another. Nor did white men escape. They saw, dimly, what they were doing to themselves and to others and they drew back from themselves, afraid. But they did not stop; perhaps they could not stop. For, by now, racism had become central to their needs and to their identity. Moreover, they were moved by dark and turbulent forces within. The evidence of their deeds bred fear and guilt which, in turn, led to more anxiety and guilt and additional demands for exclusion and aggression. Propelled by this dynamic, the whole process of excluding and fearing reached something of a peak in the first decade of the twentieth century with a carnival of Jim Crow in the

South and a genteel movement which blanketed the North with restrictive covenants. The net result was a system of color-caste which divided communities, North and South, into mutually hostile groups.

Since that time, investigators have focused almost all of their attention on the Negro community, with the resulting neglect of primary determinants on the white side of the racial line. By asserting that the Negro problem is predominantly a white problem, this issue summons us to a new beginning and suggests that anything that hides the white American from a confrontation with himself and with the fact that he must change before the Negro can change is a major part of the problem.

D. STUDENT MATERIALS

The Pledge of Allegiance:

> "I pledge allegiance to . . . one nation, under God, with liberty and justice for all."

The Declaration of Independence:

> "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness."

Preamble to the Constitution:

> "We, the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

The above statements suggest a national purpose, a set of goals and hopes of an earlier period, meant to apply to all generations of Americans. Do they? Can you define these general statements in terms of your aspirations? What is it that you would hope for from yourself and from America?

The following list of goals was taken from the above statements. Try to state them in terms of your immediate (within 5 years) aspirations (dream goals that don't necessarily reflect a realistic chance of your attainment).

Immediate Aspirations

--Liberty and Justice for all
    -Blessings of Liberty
    -Justice

--All men are created equal

--Pursuit of Happiness

--Life

--Liberty

--Domestic tranquility

--General Welfare

Now indicate your longer range aspirations (at least 15 years from now).

1. To help organize your thoughts regarding long-range aspirations, first (before stating your aspirations) try to match each of the goals with the focusing point(s) you feel most closely relates to it. Do this by writing the focusing point(s) in the space provided under each goal.

2. Try to explain exactly what your aspirations are in each of these more specific areas.

EXAMPLE:	Long Range Aspirations
Pursuit of Happiness	
-education	-30 years of school?????

Focusing Points:

life expectancy
housing
medical care
political involvement
crime (administration of law)
housing/income/job status
education
others?

Goals and Focusing Points:	Long Range Aspirations

Liberty and Justice for all

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All men are created equal

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Pursuit of Happiness

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Continue same format for: Life, Liberty, Domestic Tranquility, General Welfare

The Dreams of Five Immigrants

Excerpts from "Promise of America: The Starting Line"
1971 Cuban & Roden, Scott Foresman Spectra Program

The next selections were written by immigrants to the United States. What do you think the American Dream meant to these men?

1. Hector St. John de Crevecour, a Frenchman who lived on a New York farm before the American Revolution, had the following thoughts on life in America:

   (The colonist) ... arrived on a new continent ... It is not composed as in Europe of great lords who possess everything and of a herd of people who have nothing.

   ... The rich and the poor are not so far removed from each other as they are in Europe ... We have no princes, for whom we toil, starve and bleed: we are the most perfect society now existing in the world. Here man is free as he ought to be ...

   ...He does not find, as in Europe, a crowded society, where every place is over-stocked; he does not feel the clash of rich against poor ... There is room for everybody in America ... Is he a merchant? The avenues of trade are infinite ... Does he love a country life? Pleasant farms present themselves; he may purchase what he wants, and thereby become an American farmer. Is he a laborer ...? He need not go many miles ... before he will be hired, well fed at the table of his employer, and paid four or five times more than he can get in Europe. Does he want uncultivated lands? Thousands of acres present themselves, which he may purchase cheap ...

   I do not mean that every one who comes will grow rich in his time. No, but he may get an easy, decent living by his industry: instead of starving he will be fed; instead of being idle he will have employment; and these are riches enough for such men as come over here. The rich stay in Europe: it is only the middle classes and the poor that move.

2. In the 1850's a Swede in Illinois wrote in a letter:

   This is a free country and nobody has a great deal of authority over another ... There is no pride and nobody needs to hold his hat in his hand for anyone else. This is not Sweden, where the higher classes and employers have the law on their side so that they can treat subordinates as though they were not human beings.

3. In 1866, a Norwegian wrote:

   The principle of equality has been universally accepted and adopted. The artisan (craftsman), the farmer, and the laborer enjoy the same degree of respect as the merchant and the official.

4. In the 1890's a German wrote to his brother back home:

   And what is nicer yet is the fact that this is a free land. No one can give orders to anybody here, one is as good as another, no one takes off his hat to another as you have to do in Germany.

5. In the early 1900's, an Italian immigrant in New York explained:

   Now and then I had heard things about America - that it was a far-off country where everybody was rich and that Italians went there and made plenty of money, so that they could return to Italy and live in pleasure ever after. One day I met a young man who pulled out a handful of gold and told me he had made that in America in a few days.

   I said I would like to go there, and he told me that if I went, he would take care of me and see that I was safe.

The Promise of America Expressed by High School Students

Excerpts from: "Promise of America: The Starting Line"
1971 Cuban & Roden, Scott Foresman Spectra Program

A number of teen-agers from Cardozo High School in Washington, D.C., were asked to write about their hopes for the future. The brief selections that follow show what their dreams were.

MIKE

I hope to have everything I ever dreamed of. I want to have my own business, which is a pharmacy. I want to have a happy marriage and three children. The home I live in I want it to be beautiful and in the suburbs. I want to have security, love, and the warmth of my wife and children.

VIOLET

I hope to have everything I have ever dreamed of. I want to be a pediatrician and maybe get a chance to work in a big hospital somewhere in another city. I would like to get married maybe after I have been a M.D. for at least two or three years. Have my own house and car. Most of all I wish that the world would be a better place to bring my children up in. I wish that the racial crisis would end. And that they would once again treat everyone as equal.

LESTER

I would like to be the president of some firm or big corporation. I would have a modern up-to-date home with every timesaving device in it. I would have two cars, one for my business, like going to and from work, and the other car would be for my own personal use....

My job would be an easy one. Being it's in the future, all I would have to do is push a button about every hour or so and walk around, and I would have a television in my office to keep me occupied while I am not practicing up on my golf game on theagreen....When I'm home and don't have anything to do, I'll call up some of my friends and invite them over to play Monopoly for real property.

HARRIET

I hope to be married and have at least four children. I want a big rambling house with a large backyard. The house will have at least six bedrooms, a recreation room, with a den for my husband.

If I have a job, which I will before I marry, I hope to be a psychologist working in a large hospital psychoanalysing people and helping them with their troubles.

On weekends and holidays we will pack and go either to a ski lodge or to the beach according to the weather....I hope to have a swinging family in a jamming house.

This year, maybe, do you think I can graduate?
I'm already two years late.
Dropped out six months when I was seven,
a year when I was eleven,
then got put back when we come North.
To get through high school at twenty's kind of late --
But maybe this year I can graduate.

Maybe now I can have that white enamel stove
I dreamed about when we first fell in love
eighteen years ago.
But you know,
rooming and everything
then kids,
cold-water flat and all that.
But now my daughter's married
And my boy's most grown --
quit school to work --
and where we're moving
there ain't no stove --
Maybe I can buy that white enamel stove!

Me, I always did want to study French.
It don't make sense --

I'll never go to France,
but night schools teach French.
Now at last I've got a job
where I get off at five,
in time to wash and dress,
so, s'il-vous plait, I'll study French!
Someday,
I'm gonna buy two new suits
at once!

All I want is
one more bottle of gin.

All I want is to see
my furniture paid for.

All I want is a wife who will work
work with me and not against me. Say,
baby, could you see your way clear?

Heaven, heaven, is my home!
This world I'll leave behind.
When I set my feet in glory
I'll have a throne for mine!

I want to pass the civil service.

I want a television set.

You know, as old as I am,
I ain't never
owned a decent radio yet?

DREAMS DEFERRED
by Langston Hughes

BLACK POETRY

The Bean Eaters

by Gwendolyn Brooks

They eat beans mostly, this old yellow pair.
Dinner is a casual affair.
Plain chipware on a plain creaking wood,
Tin Flatware.

Two who are Mostly Good.
Two who have lived their day,
But keep on putting on their clothes
And putting things away.

And remembering
Remembering, with twinklings and twinges,
As they lean over the beans in their rented back room that
is full of beads and receiptsaand dolls and cloths,
tobacco crumbs, vases and fringes.

Old Mary

by Gwendolyn Brooks

My last defense
Is the present tense.

It little hurts me now to know
I shall not go

Cathedral-hunting in Spain
Nor cherrying in Michigan or Maine.

We Real Cool

by Gwendolyn Brooks

We real cool. We
Left school. We

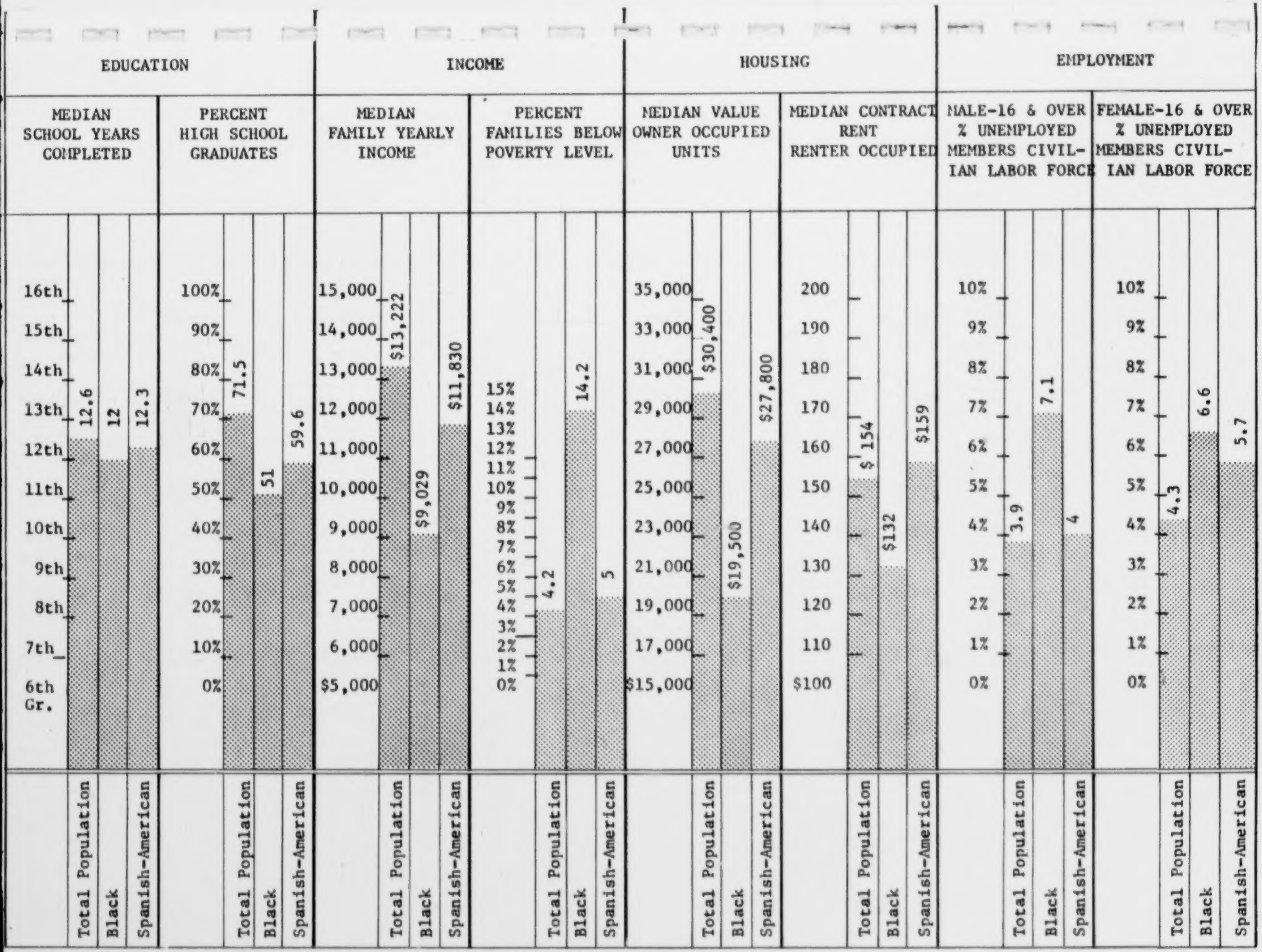
Lurk late. We
Strike straight. We

Sing Sin. We
Think gin. We

Jazz June. We
Die soon.

EDUCATION								INCOME								HOUSING								EMPLOYMENT							
MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED				PERCENT HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES				MEDIAN FAMILY YEARLY INCOME				PERCENT FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL				MEDIAN VALUE OWNER OCCUPIED UNITS				MEDIAN CONTRACT RENT RENTER OCCUPIED				MALE-16 & OVER % UNEMPLOYED MEMBERS CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE				FEMALE-16 & OVE % UNEMPLOYED MEMBERS CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE			
16th				100%				15,000								35,000				200				10%				10%			
15th				90%				14,000								33,000				190				9%				9%			
14th				80%				13,000								31,000				180				8%				8%			
												15%																			
13th				70%				12,000				14%				29,000				170				7%				7%			
												13%																			
12th				60%				11,000				12%				27,000				160				6%				6%			
												11%																			
11th				50%				10,000				10%				25,000				150				5%				5%			
												9%																			
10th				40%				9,000				8%				23,000				140				4%				4%			
												7%																			
9th				30%				8,000				6%				21,000				130				3%				3%			
												5%																			
8th				20%				7,000				4%				19,000				120				2%				2%			
												3%																			
7th				10%				6,000				2%				17,000				110				1%				1%			
												1%																			
6th gr.				0%				$5,000				0%				$15,000				$100				0%				0%			
	Total Population	Black	Spanish-American		Total Population	Black	Spanish-American		Total Population	Black	Spanish-American		Total Population	Black	Spanish-American		Total Population	Black	Spanish-American		Total Population	Black	Spanish-American		Total Population	Black	Spanish-American		Total Population	Black	Spanish-American

*All figures taken from 1970 Census Statistics for San Mateo County



*All figures taken from 1970 Census Statistics for San Mateo County

1970
POPULATION TOTALS

	TOTAL	Atherton	Woodside/ Portola Valley	South Coastside	Hillsborough	Millbrae	Burlingame	Daly City	Menlo Park	Belmont	Pacifica	Redwood City	San Bruno	San Carlos	San Mateo	South San Francisco	Bayshore/Brisbane
White	507,532	7,920	12,436	11,464	8,577	20,518	27,651	64,747	34,199	22,918	34,410	69,230	34,770	27,433	84,455	43,906	2,8
Negro (Black)	26,081	32	37	168	34	15	30	3,726	15,531	80	779	1,695	172	79	3,093	632	
American Indian	1,339	5	17	57	3	19	27	213	110	16	164	232	17	29	153	215	
Asian	17,746	111	115	160	120	226	253	4,819	1,477	575	1,065	1,159	817	302	4,807	1,679	
Other Races (largely Spanish Surname)	3,368	14	30	150	19	71	87	656	249	78	282	279	438	46	424	523	
Not Tabulated By Race	168	3	-	-	-	7	5	27	20	-	15	45	20	2	12	10	
TOTAL POPULATION	556,234	8,085	12,635	11,999	8,753	20,856	28,053	74,188	51,586	23,667	36,715	72,640	36,254	27,891	92,944	46,965	3,0

EDUCATION Median School Years Completed - 1970 (25 years & over)	TOTAL	Burlingame	Daly City	Menlo Park	Pacifica	Redwood City	San Bruno	San Carlos	San Mateo	So. San Francisco	Balance
Negro (Black)	12.0	-	12.4	11.3	12.4	11.5	12.5	16.4	12.1	13.0	11.7
Chicano (Spanish Language or Spanish Surname)	12.3	12.6	12.2	12.5	12.4	12.1	12.4	12.6	12.3	11.9	12.3
TOTAL POPULATION	12.6	12.7	12.4	13.0	12.5	12.4	12.5	12.8	12.7	12.3	12.8
EDUCATION Percent High School Graduates - 1970											
Negro (Black)	51.0	-	66.5	41.7	64.4	45.4	57.9	100.0	54.0	78.1	76.9
Chicano (Spanish Language or Spanish Surname)	59.6	70.9	59.2	61.5	71.4	52.4	68.6	75.0	58.3	49.3	60.2
TOTAL	71.5	73.9	67.8	75.3	71.8	65.8	69.1	78.3	72.9	62.6	74.8

INCOME Median Income Families (1969)	TOTAL	Burlingame	Daly City	Menlo Park	Pacifica	Redwood City	San Bruno	San Carlos	San Mateo	So. San Francisco	Balance
Negro (Black)	$ 9,029	-	11,184	7,785	11,360	7,196	20,625	22,353	7,949	14,565	9,203
Chicano (Spanish Language or Spanish Surname)	11,830	10,855	11,979	10,135	12,786	11,099	12,377	14,057	11,356	11,958	11,943
TOTAL POPULATION	13,222	13,250	12,229	13,538	12,851	12,094	12,986	14,737	13,067	12,281	14,592
INCOME Percent of All Families (1969) Below Poverty Level											
Negro (Black)	14.2	-	10.1	22.2	5.5	14.6	-	-	16.5	3.6	13.2
Chicano (Spanish Language or Spanish Surname)	5.0	7.4	5.1	7.5	1.9	5.2	3.8	6.9	4.3	4.7	6.2
TOTAL POPULATION	4.2	3.2	5.1	5.6	3.4	4.3	3.7	2.6	4.3	4.1	4.2

HOUSING Median Value Owner Occupied Units - 1970	TOTAL	Burlingame	Daly City	Menlo Park	Pacifica	Redwood City	San Bruno	San Carlos	San Mateo	So. San Francisco	Balance
Negro (Black)	$19,500	-	24,700	17,300	24,600	21,200	28,600	42,500	23,000	34,100	18,700
Chicano (Spanish Language or Spanish Surname)	27,800	33,100	26,900	28,800	25,200	26,200	28,800	34,300	28,200	25,700	30,100
TOTAL POPULATION	30,400	35,800	26,900	32,900	24,500	29,400	28,800	33,600	31,100	26,100	36,600
HOUSING Median Contract Rent Renter Occupied Units 1970											
Negro (Black)	132	141	168	111	183	132	175	-	130	173	132
Chicano (Spanish Language or Spanish Surname)	159	157	163	156	170	159	164	179	170	139	153
TOTAL POPULATION	154	149	148	157	164	144	159	162	169	141	155

EMPLOYMENT

Percent Unemployed
Member of Civilian
Labor Force: Male
16 and Over

	TOTAL
Negro (Black)	7.1
Chicano (Spanish Language or Sp. Surname)	4.0
TOTAL POPULATION	3.9

EMPLOYMENT

Percent Unemployed
Member of Civilian
Labor Force: Female
16 and Over

TOTAL	
Negro (Black)	6.6
Chicano (Spanish Language or Sp. Surname)	5.7
TOTAL POPULATION	4.3

Case Study 1

Mack, a 35 year old man, lives in a small two room apartment in the center of Oakland with a group of unemployed friends. Three years ago he lost his job as an assembly line worker in a semi-conductor production company when recession caused the lay off of 250 workers. For several months he used his unemployment check to live on and spent much of his time searching for another job. When his unemployment rights ended, he began to live on welfare--spending most of his time either hanging around the street corner or shooting pool. When he was picked up by the police for robbery of a liquor store, he stated that his money had completely run out and that he was desperate. Welfare payments had been stopped by the state government because he refused to go to work as a ditch digger on a highway project in Woodside.

White racism hypothesis:

This is a typical story of a racist society victim. It is not just chance that he was fired. The educational system in American does not allow Black persons to be successful in its White oriented institutions (schools, industries), and thus an inferior education and employment discrimination limits his chance to a job to unskilled work in the manufacturing industries. American industry, in its drive to increase profits, is expanding use of new technology to replace unskilled labor. While this economic process may or may not be racially motivated, its effect is to steadily decrease the only type of job openings many Blacks and low-income people qualify for. This effect is intensified, moreover, by the growing movement of industry away from the city where the Black person is forced to live in suburban locations which make it financially impossible for the Black to commute to work. This man lost his job when the recession occurred because it is the unskilled minority group member who is last hired and therefore first fired. The apparent lack of desire to get a job stems not from a natural laziness but from a tendency for most of those who do the hiring (most often White) to select a White person over a Black person of equal ability for a job. Once a person reaches a point of despair, stemming from a realistic awareness that his job potential is almost nil, he begins to reject the society that has forced him to be in such a predicament. At this point, being forced by the White society to work as a ditch digger is a final blow to the self respect of a man who knows that he could have been a skilled worker and an independent wage earner if only he were White. It is almost inevitable that this man in silent rage turns to crime as a reaction against his life in a racist society.

Cultural conflict hypothesis:

This is the story of a man who has not worked to acquire the skills and ambitions necessary to make it in American society. The unwillingness to accept a paying job reflects the values of minority and low-income group sub-cultures. The best way to help this man is to get him away from the influence of a ghetto culture that supports the idea of relying on welfare rather than working and condones resorting to crime. He needs to be retrained in new skills and indoctrinated in the behavior and values that are required by the world of business so that he will be able to realize that working is a way of life and is not only a right but the responsibility of average individuals. Our society and culture has developed in such a way that a man can best progress if he evidences capability and ordinary behavior patterns. Those who reject this responsibility to society suffer its reactions.

Case Study 2

John dropped out of school at the end of his sophomore year. He was bused from his neighborhood to a school several miles away to improve the racial balance of the school district. John had a poor record of attendance during his junior high years, and he continued this poor attendance pattern in high school. John often cut classes and wandered around the halls or into the restroom to smoke. He seldom did any of the assigned homework and did not contribute to the class discussions. When he did attend class, he would often go to sleep after the first ten minutes or so.

John was identified as a poor reader as he entered high school and was placed in the reading lab. Although the lab was staffed with sympathetic, understanding teachers with the latest techniques for the teaching of reading, John made no visible effort to learn to read. He was often sent to the dean's office for creating a disturbance in class and keeping others from working.

One analysis:

If John would get serious about school, he could make it just as other kids do. All of the help and attention that he received while he was in class did not help, for John simply was not interested in school or improving himself. John's family did not care about what he did at school. John is simply repeating a cultural pattern of not trying hard enough to take advantage of all of the opportunities available to anyone in our society who will make the effort. To break this pattern of failure, other young men like him must be taught to recognize that their cultural pattern is different from the mainstream, and they must alter their culture to fit the majority culture if they are to share in its opportunities.

It would have been helpful to John if he had attended classes often enough to study some of the contributions that others of his race had made to the development of America. He could have developed a great pride in the activities of men of his cultural background who helped to enrich and broaden the heritage of the majority culture.

Many of John's teachers, particularly in English and social studies, have made efforts to learn about and understand the problems that John has in a dual culture. They understood that John did not have the cultural advantages available to the majority of their students, and they used all of the materials at their disposal to help him catch up with the average student.

Another analysis:

John is simply another victim of our racist society. John has been forced to live in an isolated cultural pattern because the racist society will not allow his race to take part in the American promise of an equal chance with all other Americans of comparable ability and skills for a "good" life. John, like others of his race, is bi-lingual since the accepted communication on the block differs from the accepted standard of communication for the city's majority. He will continue to use the language of the block, since the majority culture excludes him and does not wish to communicate with him. John quit school, for he felt that no matter how hard he tried to compete for his share of the American promise, he would be denied the opportunities afforded those of the White community. Having been buffeted about for years in a basically White institution (the city school district), that ignored him culturally in its curriculum and school programs and constantly forced him to compare himself with "advantaged" persons, John long ago made his decision to choose the culture of the block over the one at "his" school. The knowledge of rejection and its resultant despair has trapped John and another generation.

Case Study 3

Joe is a Navajo Indian who has lived his 55 years on the reservation. He was the youngest of nine children, and he alone is still alive. Two of his brothers died at birth. One sister died in early childhood from malnutrition. One brother and one sister died in their thirties after many years of suffering from tuberculosis. Two brothers committed suicide after spending some time living in the city. His oldest brother died from old age at 44, an age equal to the average life expectancy for Indians in America.

Racism Quiz Name______________________________

Directions: The following descriptions of behavior and quotations may represent examples of different kinds of racism. Match the description with the term which you think best applies. If you are uncertain of how to mark the description, mark an answer but explain your reasoning in the space provided following the question.

1) overt racism 2) institutional racism 3) both 4) neither

_____1. John, a 12 year old Mexican American student who speaks Spanish in his home, scored an 87 on an I.Q. test administered in English at his school. He was counseled to take vocational classes because his I.Q. was too low for college success.

_____2. Lee Washington, a 20 year old Black, was not hired by the Acme Construction Company because he couldn't meet their merit requirements. The training required to meet the hiring standards could only be obtained by joining a carpenters' union which is closed to people of color.

_____3. Sammy Woo, a young Chinese, was refused admission to a private club because their national by-laws limit membership to members of the White race.

_____4. Five Black children were killed in the bombing of a church in Selma, Alabama by members of the White Citizens Council.

_____5. Mr. Cleaver, a Black lawyer, sought to buy a house in a wealthy suburban community previously limited to Whites. In order to keep the neighborhood White, the real estate agent told him, "You shouldn't buy that house because you won't like the neighbors and the payments are too high for your income."

_____6. Mr. Williams, a Black, was hired by Mesa High School in response to requests by large numbers of Black parents that the counseling position be given to a person who had demonstrated outstanding competence in relating to Black students.

_____7. Mr. Jones is the new owner of a restaurant in a lower class Chicano area. In order to attract more White customers and "upgrade" the reputation of the restaurant, he initiates a policy of requiring customers to wear a coat and tie.

_____8. I'm sorry, but you can't buy that house. This is a White neighborhood.

_____9. Those chinks and gooks are all alike; you can't tell one from another. So keep on eye on all of them.

____10. The Department of the Interior, including the Bureau of Indian Affairs, has 8 non-Whites out of its top 196 positions (GS 16-18); NASA has 1 non-White out of 298.

____11. In the Blackburn School District extensive busing has been used for years to transport students from rural areas to the one White middle class school. Recently the school board has decided to bus a majority of the same students to predominantly minority schools to achieve racial integration. Parents protest loudly that it is not right for students to be forced to be bused. Label the parents' behavior.

12. In the space provided, briefly give the definition you've been using for each of the following:

overt racism:

institutional racism:

Videotape Worksheet Teacher Key

1. Overt - refusal to see house because of color.

2. Overt - application to Elk's Club refused because of color.

3. Institutional - moving to Peninsula to escape busing.

4. Institutional - Chicano student placed in basic class on basis of I.Q. test scores.

5. Institutional - Chinese girl told no acting openings because everyone wants Asian Americans in clerical jobs due to their efficiency.

6. Institutional - daughter not allowed to date Chicano because she has not yet dated all boys at her church.

7. Institutional - Native American refused loan because she lacks collateral.

8. Institutional - ethnic studies program rejected because of lack of time to cover it.

9. Institutional - Chicano denied access to labor union because he has no friends in the union to help him.

10. Overt - Black is refused loan because his people are bad credit risks.

11. Institutional - Chicano not given job as fireman due to low test scores.

Explanations

Racism is any attitude, action, or institutional structure which subordinates a person or group because of his or their color. White racism exhibits itself in hundreds of ways in American society that can be usefully grouped into two basic categories: overt racism, and indirect institutional subordinations because of color.

Overt racism is the use of color alone as a means of keeping others inferior. Slavery was the most terrible form of legal subordination, but overt actions included a wide variety of laws such as segregated schools, and denial of the right to vote. Although overt racism has been greatly reduced by recent changes in the laws and in American attitudes, hundreds of forms of overt racism remain which, for example, exclude people of color from labor unions, law firms, school districts, all-White residential neighborhoods and private social clubs.

Indirect institutional subordination because of color (Institutional Racism) is the act or process placing or keeping persons in a position or status of inferiority by means of attitudes, actions, or institutional structures which do not use color itself as the subordinating mechanism, but instead use other mechanisms indirectly related to color. Institutional subordination is difficult to define or accept because it can occur even if the people causing it have no intention of subordinating others because of color or are totally unaware of doing so. For example, a business may decide to end its policy of discrimination and hire new workers solely on the basis of merit. If the only way to get the necessary training to compete, however, is to attend a White suburban high school or be accepted in a labor union not open to minority members, the effect of the new merit policy is to continue the policy of hiring only Whites.

E. RACISM SPECTRUM LESSON

1. Introduce the concept of a spectrum. What is it? What does it do?

   a. Ask the students to place the following in order along the lines below:

      1) A, E, C, B, D

      2) white, red, pink

      Note: Which item is placed on the left or right side is unimportant.

   b. Ask the student: "What was the reason behind the order you selected?"

   c. Ask the students to define what they've just constructed in terms of their function (a definition general enough to include both scales). Ask if anyone knows the term which identifies the scales (spectrum).

   d. Provide the students with a definition of spectrum which they can compare with their own (e.g. a scale which ranks items according to a predetermined criteria and which indicates the degree of difference between any two or more items on the scale).

      Note: Explain to the student that a spectrum does not necessarily indicate a range from good to bad. This only occurs if such value judgments are the criteria being used for placement on the scale (i.e. the political spectrum does not contain inherent value judgments such as left is good or bad).

2. General spectrum analysis:

   a. Give the following spectrum to students.

      Spectrum of teacher discipline toward student eating sunflower seeds.

      1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

      ---

      a b c d e

Examples of Teacher Behavior

- a - Make the student pick seeds off the floor and eat them after school.
- b - Send the student to Dean and give an F for the day.
- c - Ask the student to stop and give an F for the day.
- d - Ask the student to please stop unless he has enough for everyone.
- e - Ask the student to keep the shells under his desk and try not to chew so loudly.

   b. Ask the students what criteria is being used to place teacher behavior on the scale.

3. Spectrum construction: Have students make up a five-position spectrum on something of their choice and explain the criteria used to place items on their
3. spectrum.

4. Analysis of racism spectrum:

   a. Pass out the racism spectrum (A46) with only the specific actions placed in the five positions.

   b. Ask students individually or in groups to:

      1) write descriptions of the five positions (see attached sheet for suggested descriptions), and

      2) indicate the criteria used for placing items on the scale (e.g. degree of harm and/or degree of subordination).

   c. Pass out the racism spectrum including descriptions of the five positions and the criteria used for placement. Discuss the differences between this and their responses in 4B.

5. Use of racism spectrum:

   a. Ask students individually or in groups to place the following actions (or your/their own list of actions) on the spectrum. Answers provided for teacher use only.

      1) Bureau of Indian Affairs' schools discourage Indian students from speaking their Indian languages (5-6).

      2) Test in advanced computer and engineering skills required for hiring by NASA often excludes minorities (9-10).

      3) White girl's parents don't allow her to date Chicano who asks her out (3-4).

      4) Height requirement for policemen keeps almost all Japanese from qualifying (7-8).

      5) Police dogs and fire hoses are turned on peaceful Black demonstrators (1-2).

   b. Record a sample of the range of opinions on the board or on acetate. Discuss the reasons for these differences of opinion.

6. Further examination of racism spectrum:

   a. B is placed to the right of A on the racism spectrum because of an assumption that physical violence is more damaging than psychological violence. Suggest students debate this issue using examples from their lives as main part of their evidence.

   b. Ask students to select the spectrum numbers which describe actions that should be called racist.

7. Other Possibilities:

   a. Have students identify their own actions, actions of friends, on the spectrum.

   b. Which part of the spectrum requires immediate attention?

   c. Design a poll to see to what extent there is public awareness of racism in each area of the spectrum (use as guide for needed action).

RACISM SPECTRUM

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

A B C D E

(1-2) Overt subordination by physical violence against people because of their color.

A. whipping slaves, genocide Indians, police attacks with sticks aimed selectively

(3-4) Overt subordination of people because of their color which is not direct physical harm.

B. segregation of schools, job discrimination

(5-6) Institutional subordination of people because of their color which is not overt but which is intended to produce the same general effect as overt subordination.

C. refusal to rent apartment to Mexican for manufactured reason, such as, "your credit rating is not high enough."

(7-8) Institutional subordination of people because of their color which is neither overt or intentional but which in fact causes or maintains subordination.

D. I.Q. tests being used to place students

(9-10) Institutional subordination because of color which occurs when objective policies such as merit hiring have the effect of subordination because of the strong residual effect of past overt racism in the society.

E. college admission based on achievement tests

Teacher Instructions for Racism in Action

1. This case study (page A48) is designed to explore problems involved in dealing with people of color in a school situation. The issues are real and thus provide a meaningful way for students to discuss how they think the school should respond. It is important to present this lesson as an open-ended problem on which informed people of good will may disagree sharply.

2. Discussion should utilize logic and evidence to analyze the different approaches.

3. Present the case study by passing out the attached description (A49).

4. The issues of this case may be put in sharper focus if time is taken to role play both the initial situation and the alternative conference approaches.

5. Ask students to select the approach they believe is the best of the four described and briefly write a defense of their selection. (Some or most students may not like any of the choices, but there is value at this point in requiring a beggar's choice.)

6. Analyze each of the four approaches according to consistent criteria. Either develop a list of criteria with the class or apply your list.

7. Possible criteria to use as a yardstick:

   What will be the effect of the approach on:

   a. learning achievement of students
   b. attitudes of other minority students
   c. attitudes of White students
   d. preparation of students for society
   e. attitudes and future actions of Mr. Jones

8. Possible digression for above average students:

   Ask students to label each approach as either culture-conflict or racism.

9. Pass out the Whitney Young quotation on the bottom of A48. Divide the class into small groups and ask them to select the approach that Whitney Young would favor or construct a different approach that he would favor. Remind students to consider the criteria used in analyzing case study #4.

10. Ask students to describe their own position if it varies from their answer to question #9.

Case Study - Racism in Action

Mr. Jones is a very strict, traditional teacher who insists that students arrive to class on time and with their daily homework prepared in ink. When a student comes to class either tardy or without his homework completed properly, he is sent to the Dean and given an F for the day which cannot be made up. Two Chicano boys, Chico Rodriguez and Enrico Guttierez, regularly come to class late after an auto shop class and usually bring neither their homework nor a pencil to class. After being sent to the Dean five times, the boys are ordered to stay after school for a conference with Mr. Jones, the Dean of Students, and a representative of the District Human Relations Department.

1. Explain to Mr. Jones that his standards are a little too demanding for these boys. Try to work out a compromise in which the boys will promise to increase their efforts to get to class on time and do some of the homework, and Mr. Jones will secretly not record an F when they are late or don't get their work in on time.
2. Persuade Mr. Jones that he needs to have a second set of rules that take into account the deprived cultural background of these boys and their individual problems adjusting to his rules. Explain to him that the White students will understand the necessity of not enforcing all the regular rules for these students. Point out that many teachers do not have problems with minority students because they have learned to adjust to meet the special needs of these students with more lax rules and expectations temporarily.
3. Explain to the Dean and Mr. Jones that the standards being applied unfairly discriminate in favor of White middle class students. In reality, the regulations of Mr. Jones' serve as a White middle class broom to sweep Chicanos and Blacks right out of school. Argue that the rules must change and the boys readmitted to class without penalty. You will support the interests of the boys before the Superintendent or the Courts unless a change is made.
4. Strongly support Mr. Jones and urge the boys to recognize that it would be wrong to either seek or accept special treatment. Emphasize to the boys that success in life requires that they conform to the demands of the school.

"Racism is not just doing evil to a Black man, it's also putting up with outrageous behavior from him simply because he is black. The condescension implied is as racist as that of any bigot who says "Well, Negroes don't know any better."

Whitney Young, Jr.

Lesson on Selection of Criteria (may be used prior to case study in order to develop necessary skills)

1. In order to rank items you must have common criteria:

   a. Ask the student to rank the following teachers based on the accompanying descriptions:

      Teacher A: really likes students
      Teacher B: never gives homework
      Teacher C: insists on strict discipline
      Teacher D: teaches students how to write
      Teacher E: tells lots of jokes

   b. Ask students the following questions:

      1. What difficulties did you have?

      2. What would make the task easier (common criteria)?

      3. How would you define criteria (including function)?

2. Values inherent in selection of criteria:

   a. Have students rank (best = 1, worst = 3) the following teachers as both Bill and Sue would:

      Teacher #1 - believes in strict discipline but students who work hard earn high grades
      Teacher #2 - no discipline and students often fail
      Teacher #3 - loose discipline and most students seem to pass, although often with low grades

Bill (values a good time, not too serious about school)	Sue (grades are all important)
1)	1)
2)	2)
3)	3)

   b. Ask students the following question:

      Why would the two students rank the teachers differently? (Answer: Because different values caused them to select different criteria.)

3. Use of criteria:

   a. Select three criteria (based on your values) that you use to rank teachers. Select three teachers.

   b. Rank the teachers on the basis of criterion A, then criterion B, then criterion C.

   c. Ask students if it is possible to rank the teachers using all three criteria at the same time. (Desired goal of discussion = a realization that in order to use several criteria simultaneously it is first necessary to weigh the various criteria. This weighing also reflects a person's values.)

SECTION B

TEACHER MATERIALS ON IDENTITY

Introduction to Identity Units

TEACHER MATERIALS ON IDENTITY*

Introduction to Identity Units

Identity is formed, maintained, and transformed essentially by social factors. Although each person brings to the social context a unique, personal, biological inheritance, his treatment by other people from childhood through old age conditions his self-perception as well as how others see him in an interactive process. Many Americans have a tendency to want to view each human being as a unique, separate, and atomistic individual and not primarily as a member of a variety of social groups. This tendency may obscure for them the social forces which shape the personalities and attitudes of large numbers of people as they play a variety of life roles. Race is an important social identity factor in the United States.

A social situation is a sort of reality agreed upon ad hoc by those who participate in it, or more exactly, those who do the defining of the situation. From the viewpoint of the individual participant this means that each situation he enters confronts him with specific expectations and demands of him specific responses of these expectations. Powerful pressures exist in just about any social situation to ensure that the proper responses are indeed forthcoming. Society exists by virtue of the fact that most of the time most people's definitions of the most important situations at least coincide approximately. There is a certain amount of leeway in the extent to which response must meet expectations for a situation to remain sociologically viable. Of course, if the definitions of the situation are too widely discrepant, some form of social conflict or disorganization will inevitably result. American society is in flux, and new social identities are emerging as social roles change. A social role is a typified response to a typified expectation.

Role provides the pattern according to which the individual is to act in a particular situation. Roles, in society as in the theater, will vary in the exactness with which they lay down instructions for the actor (i.e., occupation, sex, race, age, etc.). Every role in society has attached to it a certain identity. Since roles change, identity also changes. Some of these identities are trivial and temporary ones, as in some occupations that demand little modification in the being of their practitioners. (It is not difficult to change from garbage collector to night watchman. It is considerably more difficult to change from a clergyman to a soldier. It is very difficult to change from Black to White. It is almost impossible to change from man to woman.) These differences in the ease of role changing ought not to blind us to the fact that even identities that we consider to be our essential selves have been socially assigned. The key idea is that identity is a socially bestowed definition -- socially transformed.

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*Parts of this essay were adopted from Peter L. Berger's Invitation to Sociology: A Humanistic Approach.

A child initially learns his societal roles through a process called socialization. The child finds out who he is as he learns what society is. Children often try out a variety of social roles in play and in doing so discover the significance of those roles being assigned to them. All this learning occurs, and can only occur, in interaction with other human beings, in the family. The child takes on roles in relation to those who are his "significant others,"; that is, persons who deal with him intimately and whose attitudes are decisive in the formation of his conception of himself.

Later, the child learns that the roles he plays are not only relevant to his intimate circle, but relate to the expectations directed toward him by society at large. Margaret Mead has called this higher level of abstraction in the social response the discovery of the "generalized other"; that is, not only does the child's mother expect him to behave in certain ways, but so does society in general. Only when this general conception of society emerges is the child capable of forming a clear conception of himself. "Self" and "society" in the child's experience are two sides of the same coin. In other words, IDENTITY is not something "given" but is bestowed in acts of social recognition. (G.B. Shaw's Pygmalion character, Professor Higgins, was well aware of this process when he proceeded to change the cockney flower girl, Eliza Doolittle, into a lady.)

We become what we are addressed. Some sociologists have described the self as a kind of reflection in a looking glass of society. This does not mean, of course, that there are not certain characteristics an individual is born with that are carried by his genetic heritage regardless of the social environment in which his personality will have to unfold itself. Our knowledge of man's biology does not yet allow us a very clear picture of the totality of genetic influence on personality development. We do know, however, that the room for social formation within those genetic limits is very large indeed. Even with the biological questions left largely unsettled, we can say that to be human is to be recognized as human, just as to be viewed as a certain kind of man, is to be recognized as such.

The child deprived of human affection and attention becomes dehumanized. The child who is given respect comes to respect himself. There are implications for racial identity in the United States for both the White majority and the non-White minorities (Asian Americans, Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans) involved in the whole concept of identity being shaped by how one is treated based upon pre-conceived assumptions and expectations by all parties involved in social transactions. Identities are socially bestowed. They must also be socially sustained — and fairly steadily so. One cannot be human all by oneself, and, apparently, one cannot hold on to any particular identity all by oneself. (In English literature, even that rugged individualist Robinson Crusoe on his desert island needed Friday to validate himself as a "superior" person. The Admirable Creighton, the English butler who became chief on the desert island, also illustrates, in an amusing manner, the necessity of a social context to sustain or transform identity. Lord of the Flies also throws light on how identity may be influenced by newly defined roles developed in a new environment.) If recognition of one's identity is withdrawn suddenly, it usually does not take very long before the self-image collapses.

A case of radical withdrawal of recognition by society can tell us something about the social character of identity. The enslaved African was deprived of his family, friends, and homeland, and thrown together with other uprooted people who often did not speak the same language. He was transported under the most barbaric and unsanitary conditions thousands of miles across the sea to a land of white strangers where he was forced to toil under the lash for others. Certainly, he found himself subject to a massive assault on his previous conception of himself. He no doubt tried desperately to hold onto his former identity. But in the absence of others in his immediate environment ready to confirm his old identity, he probably found it almost impossible to maintain it within his own consciousness. With frightening speed he discovered that he was acting as a negro slave was supposed to and feeling all the things that a slave was expected to feel. That process was called "seasoning." It would be a misleading perspective of this process of radical identity transformation to look upon it simply as one method of causing the disintegration of personality. A more accurate way of viewing the phenomenon is as a reintegration of personality. Reintegration must be viewed in terms of physical survival in a new and drastically harsh social environment where the new identity had to be adopted or the possibility of severe punishment or death might ensue.

Identity comes with conduct and conduct occurs in response to a specific social situation. Extreme cases, such as enslavement in which an individual was radically stripped of his old identity, simply illustrate more sharply the processes that occur in daily life. We live our lives within a complex web of recognitions and non-recognitions. We work better when we are given encouragement by "significant" others. We find it hard to be anything but clumsy in a gathering where we know people have an image of us as awkward. Intelligence, humor, skills, religious devotion, and a host of other human characteristics respond to the expectations of others. Individuals, unless they are masochistic, choose their associates in such a way that the latter sustain their self-interpretations. Succinctly stated, every act of social affiliation entails a choice of identity. Conversely, every identity requires specific social affiliations for its survival. Birds of a feather flock together -- not as a luxury, but out of necessity.

The individual locates himself in society within systems of social control, and everyone of these contain an identity generating apparatus (family, school, job, etc.). Insofar as one is able, he will try to manipulate his affiliations (especially his intimate ones) in a way as to fortify the identities that have given him satisfaction in the past. In many cases, of course, such manipulation is not possible, and one must then do the best one can with the identities with which one is thrown.

A sociological perspective on the formation and development of identity can give us a deeper understanding of the human meaning of color prejudice and the experiences of Whites and non-White minorities in the United States. We can obtain the chilling perception that prejudice not only concerns the victim's external fate at the hands of his oppressors, but that the victim's consciousness may also be shaped by his oppressor's expectations. Perhaps the most terrible thing that prejudice can do to a human being is to make him tend to become what the prejudiced image of him says he is. The Chicano is an anti-Mexican environment must fight against becoming like the anti-Mexican stereotype. For example, if teachers view Chicanos as poor students, they must struggle twice as hard not to accept the teachers preconceived view. Significantly, this struggle will have a chance of success only when the individual is protected from succumbing to the prejudice programmed for his personality by what we could call the counter-recognition of those within his immediate community (Asian identity, Yellow power; Black identity, Black power; Chicano identity, Brown power; Native American identity, Red power). Re-definition of power assumptions by minorities and vigorous self-assertion of newly defined identity should not be viewed as a neurotic fad but rather as a sign of vigorous mental health in a society where overt oppression based on race has a long ignoble history and where White attitudes of superiority still persist for a variety of reasons.

The transformation of identity, just as its genesis and its maintenance, is a social process. Re-interpretation of the past by members of racial minorities as well as majority members is a social process which is required if Asian Americans, Blacks, Chicanos, Native Americans and Whites are to develop identities and view the identities of others in ways which are congruent with American ideals of equality and human dignity. Since Whites wrote and taught American history in the past, often it has had a strong and pervasive White bias which has reinforced the positive image of Whites through biased selectivity. It also minimized the importance and significance of non-White experiences and perpetuated, in a subtle manner, a negative image of racial minorities which was also being shaped by prejudiced behavior in areas such as employment, housing, and politics in the world outside of school. Psychoanalysis and group therapy provide social contexts in microcosm whereby old negative identities can be shed and new ones created. Education, which takes place in a more complex and interrelated institutional process, may be a key social environment which will provide the context for the development of positive identity for all of our society's members. Teachers with secure identities based on reality are vital to that process. If majority Whites feel threatened by the possibility that the re-definition of minority identity will create uncertainty, then obviously White identity is tenuous at best and sadly crippled if supported only by the myth of racial superiority. Decent men have rejected that myth the world over.

The comments of Hillel, a Jewish scholar, on the subject of identity and its relationship to positive social action should have meaning for both majority and minority Americans at this time in history. He wrote, "If I am not for myself, then who will be? If I am only for myself, then what am I? If not now, when?" More recently, Caesar Chavez, the Chicano union organizer, commented on the formation of identity through the pursuit of involvement in positive social action and a moral stance of engagement to leave the world a little better than when one entered it. Teachers who can inspire youth to high ideals and whose own identities are involved with the one social institution that touches most Americans' lives cannot remain neutral on the issue of helping to create an environment in which all Americans can develop positive identity.

> He said, "When we are really honest with ourselves we must admit that our lives are all that really belong to us. So it

is how we use our lives that determines what kind of men we are. It is my deepest belief that only by giving of our lives do we find life. I am convinced that the truest act of courage, the strongest act of manliness is to sacrifice ourselves for others in a totally non-violent struggle for justice. To be a man is to suffer for others. God help us to be men."

SECTION C

IDENTITY UNIT - SOCIETY

SECTION C

IDENTITY AND SOCIETY

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1. IDENTITY QUESTIONS

Who is he?

1. These are questions all men ask; questions men never stop asking; never stop trying to answer. Such questions can be answered only by asking other questions. In what terms and in what context does a man define himself? To learn who he is, a man must first look at himself in terms of his function as a member of his family, his sexual identification, his psychological responses, his religious beliefs, his function in the community, and his cultural heritage, to name only a few considerations.
2. Identity is shaped by family, peers, and institutions. Play and work roles, religious beliefs, political participation, national identity, and socio-economic group membership are also involved. In addition, age, sex, ethnic, and racial group identification helps to define identity.
3. What do these groups mean at different stages of growth?
4. What physical and psychological needs do they satisfy or fail to satisfy?
5. What factors shape an individual's attitude toward group affiliation? (positive, negative, or neutral attitudes which reinforce our behavior)
6. How do the dynamics of groups shape identity?
7. Which groups are voluntary and which involuntary?

These are but a few of the questions with which this unit can open.

This unit will introduce a student to the social forces affecting identity through the examination of multicultural examples. Selected factors will be explored relating to how racial identity is formed, sustained, and transformed in the United States. Needless to say, given the complexity of the subject and the broad nature of the concept of identity, these materials only begin to scratch the surface and are only suggestive of the kinds of issues that can be opened up for further inquiry.

2. BEHAVIORAL OBJECTIVES

1. Given the assignment of a role in a simulation called Sunshine City, the student will be able to state how identity assumptions and expectations affected his behavior and that of others.
(Sunshine City: Simulation)

2. Given the description of Alex Haley's quest for his African roots, the student will be able to identify his motivations and state how his identity was reshaped by that experience.
(Search for Roots)

3. Given a sheet with empty circles, the student will fill-in identity factors which he believes determine who he is.
(Who Am I?)

4. Given a sheet with fixed and non-fixed identity factors, the student will be able to state which are socially or culturally determined. The student should also be able to identify racial identity as a factor which affects access to housing, education, and jobs.
(Fixed and Non-Fixed Identity Factors)

5. Given a discussion of early childhood and adolesent influences on identity, the student will be able to identify the family and the school as two, key social institutions which shape and sustain identity and give some examples of each. The student should also be able to identify social and psychological factors related to prejudice. (Family, School and Prejudice)

6. Given an assignment to draw a picture of who he really is (after a period of studying some of the complex factors which constitute identity), the student will indicate his understanding by refusing to reduce such variables to a representational or symbolic drawing.
(Draw a Picture of Who You Really Are)

7. Given the reading, "I Am Somebody" and a discussion of factors of Ghetto life which tend to lower positive identity or self-image, the student will be able to identify some of those factors.
(Jesse: Somebody; Audience: Somebody)

8. Given an explanation of why Black Americans have not been able to assimilate or find opportunities as easily as European background "ethnic" Americans, the student will be able to explain how racism (historical and contemporary, overt and institutional) has limited Black rewards from the American economy and how White positive identity has been enhanced by exclusions.
(We Made it, Why Can't They?)

9. Given a reading about life in an urban ghetto, the student will be able to identify the experience and expectation gaps between rural Black parents and their son, whose identity has been shaped by urban realities.
("Boy, You Better Stop That Dreaming")

10. Given two readings by distinguished turn-of-the-century Black leaders (each recommending two different courses of action for Blacks to improve their economic, social and political conditions), the student will be able to state which tended toward accommodation and gradualism and which tended toward assimilation and assertion of full civil rights. Students should

also be able to explain the effects of both statements on Blacks and Whites in terms of developing a positive self-image.
(Recommendations on Race Relations)

11. Given a reading or a lecture on the findings about racial isolation in the public schools, the student will be able to explain the extent, trend, causes, and outcomes of racial separation on both Black and White students. The student should also be able to distinguish the consequences of compensatory programs in racially isolated schools and compensatory programs in integrated schools. The student should also be able to explain how de facto segregation in public education affects Black and White identity, expectations, and aspirations.
(Racial Isolation in Public Schools)

12. Given an application form for a racist organization (which had a membership of 5 million in the 1920's), the student will be able to determine the identity values underlying the form. (K.K.K. Application Form)

13. Given the backgrounds of four White responses to rapid social, economic, and political change, the student will be able to explain how feelings of resentment, envy, disappointment, and uncertainty have affected how they view their own identity and that of Blacks.
(Selected White attitudes toward Social Change)

14. Given a statement of the social psychology which reinforces positive feelings about White identity (the Rightness of Whiteness), the student will be able to explain some of the subtle and unconscious factors which promote negative racist feelings about non-Whites and White feelings of racial superiority.
(White Identity: The Psychology of Racism)

15. Given a description of the "cultural deficit" hypothesis to explain why Chicano students fail as a group to achieve high academic success in Anglo-oriented schools, the student will be able to explain what that hypothesis is and how it relates to the internal/culture conflict model. The student should also explain how such a model could affect Chicano and White-Anglo identity.
(Chicano Identity, Understanding the Mexican American)

16. Given statements by school teachers about Chicano students, the student will identify prejudiced attitudes (explicit and implied). The student will also be able to form a coherent hypothesis to explain such attitudes in terms of Anglo and White identity.
(Two Teachers Views of Mexican Americans)

17. Given a reading on the language barrier, the student will be able to state how English language facility has been historically connected to American identity.
(The Language Barrier)

18. Given a 19th century description of Mexicans and Texans written by Texas Rangers, the student will be able to list negative words applied to Mexicans and positive words applied to (White) Texans. The student should be able to identify the description as overtly racist and jingoistic.
(A Texas Ranger's View of Mexicans in the 19th Century)

19. Given a reading on culture conflict and Mexican American achievement, the student will be able to identify language, racial discrimination, lower socioeconomic status, and culture as four areas related to deprivation and failure among Mexican Americans. The student should be able to explain and illustrate each. (Culture Conflict and Mexican American Achievement)

20. Given a poem on the immigrant experience in a U.S. History class, the student will be able to explain how the study of history can reinforce or alienate one's sense of identity.
(The Immigrant Experience)

21. Given a poem critical of schools which can destroy as well as build identity, the student will explain from the poet's point of view how school failure can be a factor in the development of a socially alienated identity.
(An Open Letter to Society)

22. Given two Chicano statements concerning how change in terms of positive identity can be brought about (one non-violent and one violent), the student will be able to explain why the college professor might feel one way and the high school student another. (How to Improve Conditions)

23. Given a set of statistics concerning Median family income and family size in the Southwest, the student will be able to indicate how the same statistics could be used to support the interval/culture internal conflict model or the extreme/racism model. (Median Family Income and Family Size)

24. Given the statement, "Who is a Chicano? and What is it the Chicanos Want?", the student will be able to answer those questions briefly and succinctly.
(Who is a Chicano? and What is it Chicanos' Want?)

25. Given a reading on how Chicano studies can develop awareness of how some Anglo-American culture values create attitudes unconsciously hostile to Chicanos, the student will explain where some of the hostile anti-Chicano attitudes are derived from. The student will also indicate how Chicano studies can hold a mirror up to the White-Anglo as well as the Chicano.
(Chicano Course Holds Mirror to Others, Too)

26. Given a reading stating that development of Chicano power must be a positive force concerned with humanity as well as ethnic pride, the student will indicate what the author means by "If I am Only for Myself, then What Am I."
(Chicano Power, Pride or Prejudice)

27. Give a statement of the Spiritual Plan of Aztlán, the student will be able to identify mystical and mythological aspects of that statement and explain the importance of myth in the development of group consciousness.
(identity, origins, development and destiny)
(The Spiritual Plan of Aztlán)

28. Given readings on the Native American, the student will be able to explain how the image of the "Indians" has changed and is changing. The student will also be able to show how Native American experiences have been different and how they have been similar.
(Native American Identity, The Many Faces of the American Indian, Hope Has Little Meaning for the Blackfeet)

29. Given a reading on the boarding school experiences of Native Americans in the 19th century, the student will be able to identify the processes involved in cultural transformation and to explain the effects on Native American identity of the derogation of values in Indian culture by Whites.
(Board School Experience)

30. Given a historical event (Custer's Last Stand), the student will be able to list five things that could be researched to provide a more complete picture of why that battle happened when it did. Further, the student will be able to explain how bias (personal, cultural, national etc.) affects the way in which historians treat wars in national history in various epochs.
(Inquiry: Custer's Last Stand)

31. Given a proclamation: To the Great White Father and All His People, the student will be able to explain the symbolic importance of Alcatraz Island in terms of its comparability to some Indian reservations and assertion of Native American identity.
(Proclamation: To the Great White Father and all his People)

32. Given a 19th century racist statement directed against Chinese immigrants to the United States, the student will be able to identify prejudiced and stereotyped thinking by citing loaded words and phrases in the statement. The student will also be able to indicate how "in-group virtues become out-group vices" based on evidence in this statement.
("But Why this Discrimination Against the Chinese?"

33. Given two examples of anti-Japanese propoganda of the 1920's, the student will be able to draw parallels to anti-Chinese feeling in the 19th century and to explain how the stereotype of "Jap" had roots in American experience which provided a psychological background for interning all people of Japanese ancestry during World War II on the West Coast.
(Anti-Japanese Propoganda of the 1920's)

34. Given a description of America's concentration camps, the student will be able to explain how individual human beings were hurt by being classified as "potential enemies". The student will also explain the overt racism that oriented the relocation and internment program.
(America's Concentration Camps)

35. Given group reports on the White view of the "success" of Chinese Americans and other readings on Chinatown behind the tourist facade, the student will be able to account for the discrepancies in terms of the concept of selective perception. The student will also be able to state why the poverty of Chinatown behind the facade is given relatively little publicity in the mass media.
("Work, Not Welfare")

36. Given a rationale for the emergence of yellow power in America, the student will be able to explain why a previously "silent minority" is struggling to create a power and identity movement.
(The Emergence of Yellow Power in America)

37. Given a reading on Philippino identity, the student will be able to state why some Philippinos believe their identity is ambiguous in a country where race visibility is an important issue in social relations.
(I Am Curious Yellow?)

38. Given this unit on the issue of identity, the student will be able to explain some of the consequences of racial identity for Asian Americans, Blacks, Chicanos, Native Americans, and Whites in terms of the following:

    a) how identity for racial groups has developed historically

    b) how identity has been sustained through self-image and perception of others

c) how identity is being transformed as White definitions of social reality begin to lose their viability because of redefinition of minority groups by the groups themselves.

The White student will also indicate his understanding and awareness of the fact that as minorities transform their identities, so must the Whites in order to bring their identity into congruence with changing social realities in America and with a world where Whites are a racial minority.

All students will explain under what conditions the emergence of a Polynesian identity movement might be expected to emerge in Hawaii or Califonia. Polynesians include Hawaians, Tongans, Samoans, etc.

3. SUNSHINE CITY: A SIMULATION

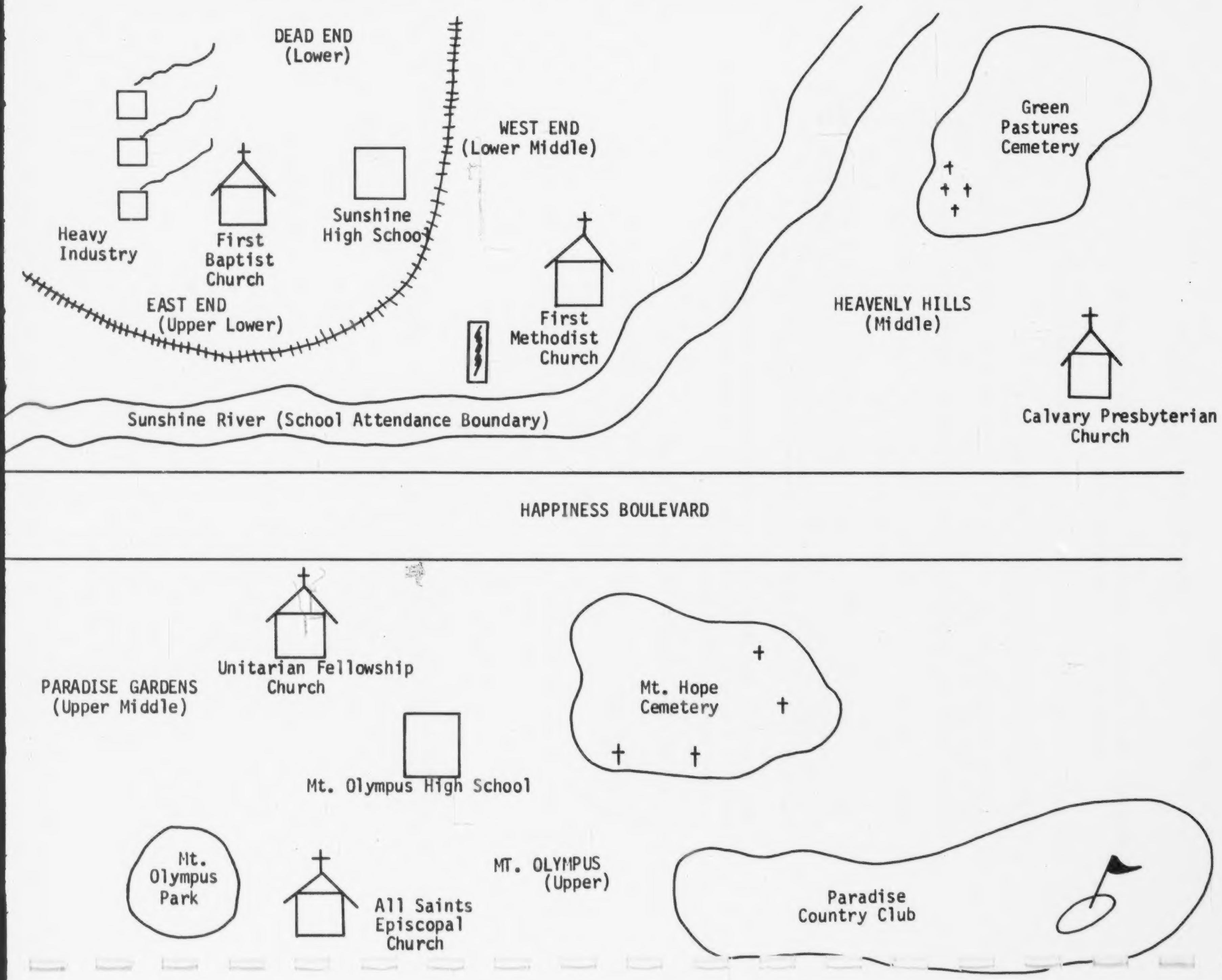
Question: Does society influence individuals to produce behavior of a certain characterological type?

(Concept: Assumptions and expectations of sociological role.)

1. Explore how race is related to identity.
2. Explore tangentially other factors which influence identity formation (geographical area, social class, customs, traditions, advertising, mass media, religion, education, family, education, nationalism, etc.)
3. Explore how one's identity flows from social situations and how identity assumptions and expectations affect behavior.
4. Examine the class participation in the simulation - Sunshine City, a common class experience where identity is imposed in an artificial manner yet which produces very definite behavior based on assumed notions of identity in American society. Students should be led to explore assumptions.
5. What kinds of hypotheses can be developed about the relationship between race and identity in American society? (Identity: How one perceives oneself and how one is perceived by others.)

This simulation is adapted from INTERACT.

The simulation should be purchased by those teachers wishing to use this series of lessons.


DEAD END
(Lower)
WEST END
(Lower Middle)
Green Pastures Cemetery
Heavy Industry
First Baptist Church
Sunshine High School
EAST END
(Upper Lower)
First Methodist Church
HEAVENLY HILLS
(Middle)
Calvary Presbyterian Church
Sunshine River (School Attendance Boundary)
HAPPINESS BOULEVARD
Unitarian Fellowship Church
PARADISE GARDENS
(Upper Middle)
Mt. Hope Cemetery
Mt. Olympus High School
Mt. Olympus Park
MT. OLYMPUS
(Upper)
All Saints Episcopal Church
Paradise Country Club

Sunshine City

An Experience with an Assumed Identity

RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF MINORITIES AND MAJORITIES
A SIMULATION

GENERAL OVERVIEW This simulation of a town with minority problems is designed to force students to deal with rights and responsibilities of minorities and majorities, and to assume new identities and play roles which are congruent with those identities

OBJECTIVES

CONCEPTS:

1. Rights: privileges or prerogatives guaranteed an individual or group by virtue of established tradition, group membership, or formalized legal structure

2. Responsibilities: obligations incurred by an individual or group by virtue of established tradition, group membership, or formalized legal structure

3. Discrimination: individual or group actions that deny equal rights, opportunities, or status to another individual or group because of the latter's perceived membership in an identifiable group

4. Morality and Choice: Morality is a system of beliefs, values, attitudes, and motives. A moral system includes (1) beliefs about the nature of man, (2) beliefs about ideals (about what is good or desirable or worthy of pursuit for its own sake), (3) rules about what ought and what ought not to be done, and (4) motives that incline the individual to choose a course of action. In a relatively "open" society, an individual can and must make choices between competing moral systems.

GENERALIZATIONS: A majority is often more likely to demand rights than to accept responsibilities. Identities often determine assumptions and expectations concerning social action.

SKILLS--ABILITY TO:

1. Sustain a role over an appropriate period of time based on assumed identity.

2. Predict the consequences of a proposed action.

3. Persuade others to do what you want them to do.

4. Explain why certain interest groups make the decisions they do.

5. Identify rights and responsibilities in a given historical situation.

ATTITUDES:

1. Empathy for the problems of minorities.
2. Willingness to assume responsibilities as well as to exercise rights.
3. Willingness to exercise rights within a restrictive social climate.

LEARNING PROCEDURES:

As background, assign any readings appropriate to community organization, urban power relationships, de facto segregation, or political realities.

Distribute the Student Guide, the map, and the IMPS Balance Sheet (attached). Explain the game in general (see Student Guide).

THE STUDENT ASSUMES A NEW IDENTITY:

Have each student draw a card (by chance) that indicates his (1) occupation, (2) income per year, (3) race (this can be designated by using crayons to color one edge of the card), (4) neighborhood, and (5) education. (The card can be pinned on the student's clothes.) Divide the class based on the city's racial percentages found in the Student Guide. Most Blacks should be in Dead End and East End (see map) though a Black doctor in Mt. Olympus should be used. The high school population (in Student Guide) can help in determining what percentage of minorities to put in various neighborhoods. Occupations, income, and education should be appropriate for the neighborhood.

SPECIAL TREATMENT BASED ON NEW IDENTITY:

Divide the class into neighborhoods by moving chairs. To add to the simulation use certain outward acts of discrimination against the students who "live" in Dead End and East End. Examples: crowding the chairs together or having some students sit on the floor while the students of Mt. Olympus have plenty of room and maybe a chair to put their feet on; seat the poor neighborhoods farthest from the teacher and give these students poor copies of dittoed material or insufficient copies. Anything that brings a feeling of discrimination to some groups and privilege to another can help develop attitudes that will make the game more realistic.

Have the class discuss the case studies. (The class could be given a quiz on the case studies or an assignment to do for homework or in class (see attachment #6.)

PRESSURE CARDS CHANGE THE SOCIAL CONTEXT IN WHICH IDENTITIES OPERATE:

Periodically (every ten or fifteen minutes, depending on how long the game is to run) read a "pressure card." These should be read at a good stopping point such as the end of the discussion of a case study. "Pressure cards" have to correspond with occupations and minorities; situations can be created in addition to those on the attached sheet. (Students may write some of the pressure cards.) Every time a pressure card is read, students take out their IMP sheets and make the necessary deductions or additions. Students should be convinced that their IMP total will play a major part in their grade, otherwise they will not play the game in earnest.

When "pressure cards" are read, the teacher can ask if the situation is realistic but should allow no discussion of the situation. This will allow frustrations to build...this is their purpose. The class can be reminded of the methods available to them to earn IMPS (see Student Guide.)

After they have discussed the case studies and read "pressure cards" for about two days, have students hold an election for city council. The number on the council will depend on how large the class is. One possibility is to have one councilman elected from the combined neighborhoods of Mt. Olympus and Paradise Garden; one from Heavenly Hills and West End; one for Dead End and East End; and two at-large councilmen. Or have one councilman representing both Dead End and East End and one councilman from each other neighborhood.

POLITICS AND IDENTITY

Students may write proposals of action for the city council after the election. They may also have been writing some as the "pressure cards" are read. These proposals are for some action such as changing the school attendance boundaries or increasing welfare payments.

The city council members then meet outside of class and decide which proposals to consider at the council meeting. The teacher may help in order to get a variety of proposals. A good number is five; any number is possible depending on how long the teacher wants the meeting to last.

The city council meets and the class acts as citizens (perhaps grouped by neighborhoods with East End and Dead End sitting far from the council table). The meeting can follow a modified parliamentary procedure.

After a proposal is read the teacher must give a cost-benefit estimate in IMPS for each proposal. These have to be made up by the teacher as the proposal is being read. For example, on a proposal to increase welfare, a progressive IMP tax can be established, with an IMP benefit going to the unemployed and the low salaried. Always see that the use of IMPS hurts one group and benefits another.

After a discussion of a proposal by council members and citizens the council votes and students adjust their IMP sheets. The length of the discussion will vary with the proposal and the time allotment desired by the teacher.

REFLECTIONS ON IDENTITY AND SOCIAL CONTEXT:

A post mortem is held after all proposals have been debated and voted on. Tell the class that the IMP sheets will not play too great a part in determining the grade and that the amount of IMPS earned through work on the case studies, current events, and letters to the editor are what count most. Explain that the point of the IMPS was to have the students develop empathy. In the post mortem the following points should be considered:

- How were your attitudes and actions affected by your identity?

- Was the simulation realistic? At what points?

- What did they, as a majority or minority, feel were their rights and responsibilities?
- Did prejudice and discrimination exist? When? Why?
- What was the effect of prejudice and discrimination upon the discriminated and the discriminator?
- Any suggested improvements?

EVALUATION: Observation by the teacher during the simulation

IMPS earned through quizzes and written work on the case studies, news articles, and letters to the editor.

ALTERNATIVE CONTEST: Different case studies could be used. This would perhaps necessitate changing some of the "pressure cards," occupations, etc.

It might be beneficial to have a second election for the city council by simply invalidating the first one. The reason for this is that the first time around the students tend to be idealistic while in the second election they will become more realistic in voting for their vested interests.

IMPS BALANCE SHEET

Sunshine

Sunshine Simulation

____
Name

____
Neighborhood

____
Ethnic Background

Date	Item	-	+	Balance	Date	Item	-	+	Balance

SUNSHINE

STUDENT GUIDE

You are about to participate in an educational simulation called Sunshine. A simulation is a manner of instruction in which the classroom represents a mythical environment where students "live." In a few minutes you will be "born" Black, Chicano, Oriental, or White in Sunshine, your similated community. After "birth" you will move into one of six neighborhoods. As you "live" in this neighborhood, you will examine case studies of minority history in the United States in order to solve the problems of prejudice and discrimination in your troubled city. But first some facts about your city.

THE COMMUNITY

INCORPORATED	:	1925
LOCATION		Northern California
POPULATION AND ETHNIC BREAKDOWN		31,450 WASPS (White, Anglo-Saxon Protestants) 13,850 Blacks 4,700 Chicanos, Orientals, Southern Europeans 50,000 Citizens
ECONOMY		Key industries are auto assembly, fertilizer, and electronics parts and assembly. Unemployment is now 5.7% overall, yet 8.4% among Chicanos, Orientals, Southern Europeans and 11.6% among Blacks.
HOUSING PATTERNS		As population increased during and after World War II, most WASPS moved from Dead End and East End into the suburbs. Blacks and other minority groups moved into the two vacated neighborhoods. Consequently, the neighborhoods have the following characteristics: - Dead End and East End--tenements, rental housing, homes under $10,000 - West End--housing development homes under $16,000 - Paradise Gardens and Heavenly Hills--housing development homes under $25,000 - Mount Olympus--individually-designed homes $35,000 to $125,000
CHURCHES		Presumably segregated by religious preference, the churches are actually segregated by housing patterns, ethnic background, and income.
SCHOOLS		Although schools are not segregated by law, education is basically segregated because of school attendance boundaries and housing patterns. Thus, only a handful of Sunshine's youth south of Happiness Boulevard attend schools with minority children. The high school attendance boundary, drawn in 1953 along Happiness Boulevard, necessitates busing students from West End to Sunshine High School. The two high schools of about 2,000 students each have equal staff and facilities, but widely different ethnic populations.

Sunshine High School:	63% Black 20% Chicano, Oriental, Southern European 17% WASP
Mt. Olympus High School:	81% WASP 18.8% Chicano, Oriental, Southern European .2% Black

For several reasons the Sunshine Unified School District (K-12) is not "Impoverished school district." First, the community has adequate industry and many fine homes, both of which mean considerable property taxes for schools; second, the state pours state taxes into its schools; finally, the federal government, as a result of the federal-aid-to education acts, has made available through the State Department of Education federal funds for compensatory education programs--if the school districts apply for such funds. But as of the present, Sunshine's WASP school board has steadfastly refused to seek federal funds due to its opposition to "socialism and federal control."

RIOTS

Although no riots or wide-spread demonstrations have yet hit Sunshine, on the night of Martin Luther King's assassination in 1968, Blacks threw a Molotov cocktail against "Victory Arch" on the Mt. Olympus High School campus. Faint traces of the burned scar still tarnish the stone arch at the entrance to the campus.

IMPS

As you experience Sunshine, you will notice that its activities parallel playing a game. For example, at the beginning all of you will be born with 100 IMPS (image points). As individuals and as members of groups, you will find yourselves competing to earn more IMPS, for IMPS represent your wealth in the simulation and your grade for the unit's work. Gradually you will understand the two-fold object of the simulation: to increase your IMPS and to solve the racial problems in your city. Your IMPS total will increase if you complete and do well the various assignments and if you pressure your city council members on how to solve Sunshine's minority problems.

PRESSURE CARDS

From time to time your teacher, the "god of chance," will announce pressure cards. These chance cards will shape your simulated lives by introducing minority problems actually faced by many communities in the United States and, most probable, by your own. But just as in life chance treats different persons differently, so in Sunshine chance will treat you and your neighbors differently. Consequently, some city problems caused by pressure cards will cause some citizens to lose more IMPS than other citizens.

OBLIGATIONS TO YOURSELF

Earning IMPS in Sunshine might be compared with your parents earning money. Without IMPS (self-image points comparable to money) survival becomes difficult, for a human being needs to "score" self-image points to keep his opinion of himself from disintegrating. Thus, your individual obligation is to earn as many IMPS as you can by completing any task your teacher assigns you or any task you create for yourself. Here are several possible individual tasks:

- Read the assigned case studies and report on them.
- Do well on quizzes on the case studies.

- Write letters-to-the-editor responding to pressure cards.
- Clip and bring in articles on minority problems, accompanied by summaries.
- Help organize a faction planning to petition the city council, and attempt to have your proposal passed.

OBLIGATIONS TO YOUR COMMUNITY

If Sunshine citizens do not organize themselves into groups working to solve problems, minority problems may overwhelm your city. You, therefore, have many responsibilities as a group member of society.

SUNSHINE ADAPTATION
Pressure "cards" (These are suggested pressure situations designed to build frustrations)

No business will permit use of his empty store in Dead End for use by minority groups for supplementary education programs sponsored by La Raza or the Black Panthers. Businessmen lose 3 IMPS, all minorities lose 6 IMPS.

The Elks Club votes to maintain two organizations: one for Whites and one for minorities. All minority people lose 4 IMPS.

Mormons plan to build a church in Heavenly Hills. The city council zones the area for a shopping center and plans for the church must be dumped. Mormons lose 5 IMPS, all other groups gain 5 IMPS because of increased tax base.

WCTU desires to ban sale of liquor within city limits. They petition the city council to establish zoning laws so that no new liquor stores may open. The city council rejects the petition. WCTU members lose 8 IMPS, liquor store owners gain 5 IMPS, liquor store workers gain 2 IMPS.

The owner of an electronics plant finds that absenteeism by minority workers is double that of non-minority workers. Detected thefts of company equipment also are higher among minority workers. During current economic hard times he lets unskilled minority workers go wherever possible, regardless of seniority. He plans to replace them with non-minority workers. Minority workers in plants all lose 7 IMPS. White workers in East and West End gain 2 IMPS.

Minority youth find it hard to get employment in Sunshine; a possible solution turns up in a federal government grant for a Job Corps, offering matching funds up to $10,000. The city council decides not to take advantage of the offer. All minorities lose 5 IMPS.

Municipal Hospital has an informal hiring policy that discriminates against women workers. Women's Liberation attempts to set a precedent of equal pay for equal work and a more equitable employment policy. The city council forms a study group and will hear a report in six months. All women lose 7 IMPS.

The father of the family living at number _______ Parkview Drive, whose son's life was saved in Vietnam by a Negro buddy, appears in front of the school board in Sunshine and makes the following statement: "You know, board members, my son had to go to Vietnam to meet Buddy Johnson, the first Negro he ever knew. And Buddy lived in Sunshine and went to a different high school. And why is it that my son never had a Negro teacher in all his years at Mt. Olympus High? Don't you think we're being a little blind to the facts of life? Sunshine has a population that is 10% Negro. Shouldn't you transfer some Negro teachers and Negro students into Mt. Olympus High and transfer some White teachers and White students into Sunshine High?" His recommendation is met with silence. Father gains 10 IMPS: everyone else in Sunshine loses 10 IMPS.

Dr. ________, the Negro doctor who lives at _______, has little attention paid to him when he goes to a school board meeting and protests the arbitrary attendance boundary that is separating the two high schools. At the board meeting he says, "Obviously, this boundary, drawn in 1953, violates what the Supreme Court overruled in 1954 in Brown V. Topeka. Is this board going to continue de facto segregation forever in SUNSHINE?" The school board thanks him for his opinion and then does nothing. Negro doctor loses 12 IMPS: all Negroes lose 7 IMPS.

The following information appeared in the most recent edition of The Sunshine Chronicle in an article discussing the two high schools. "Study shows that 77% of the graduates of Mt. Olympus High School have attended college in the last four graduating classes; 21% of the graduates of Sunshine High School have gone on to college during the same period." All citizens in Mt Olympus High School attendance area receives 7 IMPS: all citizens in Sunshine High School attendance area lose 7 IMPS.

Three houses at ________ are burglarized in one night. Negroes are caught and convicted of the crime. White families involved lose 5 IMPS: Sunshine Negroes lose 5 IMPS.

The slum housing in Dead End and East End is so bad that children are continually frightened and even bitten by rats living in the tenements. All Negro families living in these two areas must pull BITTEN AND FRIGHTENED CHANCE CARDS. Half will pull BITTEN cards; half will pull FRIGHTENED cards. The former lose 10 IMPS: the latter lose 5 IMPS. The slumlord, who lives at _______ loses 20 IMPS, for the Sunshine Chronicle publishes a statistical story about the scandal of the rats and children being bitten.

4. SEARCH FOR ROOTS

Black Experience

(Concept: Roots and Identity)

1. Students read of Alex Haley's search for origins to validate his identity.
2. Students may listen to an audio-tape of Alex Haley's search for roots and excerpts from the tape.
3. Trace stages of Haley's research into origins.
4. Explore:
    - What Haley's motivations might have been considering the difficulty of the task.
    - Key things he discovered. Limitations on his capacity to discover.
    - How his conception of his own identity shaped and was shaped by his research.
    - What he discovered about the ways in which slavery had attempted to change African identity and produce a slave identity.

MY FURTHEST-BACK PERSON-'THE AFRICAN'

By Alex Haley

My Grandma Cynthia Murray Palmer lived in Henning, Tenn. (pop.500), about 50 miles north of Memphis. Each summer as I grew up there, we would be visited by several women relatives who were mostly around Gramdma's age, such as my Great Aunt Liz Murray who taught in Oklahoma, and Great Aunt Till Merriwether from Jackson, Tenn., or their considerably younger niece, Cousin Georgia Anderson from Kansas City, Kan., and some others. Always after the supper dishes had been washed, they would go out to take seats and talk in the rocking chairs on the front porch, and I would scrunch down, listening, listening, behind Grandma's squeaky chair, with the dusk deepening into night and the lightning bugs flicking on and off above the now shadowy honeysuckles. Most often they talked about our family--the story had been passed down for generations--until the whistling blur of lights of the southbound Panama Limited train wooshing through Henning at 9:05 P.M. signaled our bedtime.

So much of their talking of people, places and events I didn't understand: For instance, what was an "Ol' Massa," an "Ol' Missus" or a "plantation"? But early I gathered that white folks had done lots of bad things to our folks, though I couldn't figure out why. I guessed that all that they talked about had happened a long time ago, as now or then Grandma or another, speaking of someone in the past, would excitedly thrust a finger toward me, exclaiming, "Wasn't big as this young 'un!" And it would astound me that anyone as old and grey-haired as they could relate to my age. But in time my head began both a recording and picturing of the more graphic scenes they would describe, just as I also visualized David killing Goliath with his slingshot, Old Pharaoh's army drowning, Noah and his ark, Jesus feeding that big multitude with nothing but five loaves and two fishes, and other wonders that I heard in my Sunday school lessons at our New Hope Methodist Church.

The furthest-back person Grandma and the others talked of--always in tones of awe, I noticed--they would call "The African." They said that some ship brought him to a place that they pronounced "'Naplis." They said that then some "Mas' John Waller" bought him for his plantation in "Spotsylvania County, VA." This African kept on escaping, the fourth time trying to kill the "hateful po' cracker" slave-catcher, who gave him the punishment choice of castration or of losing one foot. This African took a foot being chopped off with an ax against a tree stump, they said, and he was about to die. But his life was saved by "Mas' John's" brother--"Mas' William Waller," a doctor, who was so furious about what had happened that he bought the African for himself and gave him the name "Toby."

Crippling about, working in "Mas' William's" house and yard, the African in time met and mated with "the big house cook named Bell," and there was born a girl named Kizzy. As she grew up her African daddy often showed her different kinds of things, telling her what they were in his native tongue. Pointing at a banjo, for example, the African uttered, "ko"; or pointing at a river near the plantation, he would say, "Kamby Bolong." Many of his strange words started with a "k" sound, and the little, growing Kizzy learned gradually that they identified different things.

When addressed by other slaves as "Toby," the master's name for him, the African said angrily that his name was "Kin-tay." And as he gradually learned English, he told young Kizzy some things about himself--for instance, that he was not far from his village, chopping wood to make himself a drum, when four men had surprised, overwhelmed, and kidnaped him.

Alex Haley, above, is a magazine writer and author of "The Autobiography of Malcolm X." He is currently completing a new book, "Roots," tracing his family history. Columbia Pictures plans a film of the book, to be published by Doubleday next year.

Article from The New York Times Magazine/July 16, 1972

So Kizzy's head held much about her African daddy when at age 16 she was sold away onto a much smaller plantation in North Carolina. Her new "Mas' Tom Lea" fathered her first child, a boy she named George, and Kizzy told her boy all about his African grandfather. George grew up to be such a gamecock fighter that he was called "Chicken George," and people would come from all over and "bet big money" on his cockfights. He mated with Matilda, another of Lea's slaves; they had seven children, and he told them the stories and strange sounds of their African great-grandfather. And one of those children, Tom, became a blacksmith who was bought away by a "Mas' Murray" for his tobacco plantation in Alamance County, N. C.

Tom mated there with Irene, a weaver on the plantation. She also bore seven children, and Tom now told them all about their African great-great-grandfather, the faithfully passed-down knowledge of his sounds and stories having become by now the family's prideful treasure.

The youngest of the second set of seven children was a girl, Cynthia, who became my maternal Grandma (which today I can only see as fated). Anyway, all of this is how I was growing up in Henning at Grandma's listening from behind her rocking chair as she and the other visiting old women talked of that African (never then comprehended as my great-great-great-great-grandfather) who said his name was "Kin-tay," and said "ko" for banjo, "Kamby Bolong" for river, and a jumble of other "k"-beginning sounds that Grandma privately muttered, most often while making beds or cooking, and who also said that near his village he was kidnaped while chopping wood to make himself a drum.

The story had become nearly as fixed in my head as in Grandma's by the time Dad and Mama moved me and my two younger brothers, George and Julius, away from Henning to be with them at the small black agricultural and mechanical college in Normal, Ala., where dad taught.

To compress my next 25 years: When I was 17 Dad let me enlist as a mess boy in the U.S. Coast Guard. I became a ship's cook out in the South Pacific during World War II, and at night down by my bunk I began trying to write sea adventure stories, mailing them off to magazines and collecting rejection slips for eight years before some editors began purchasing and publishing occasional stories. By 1949 the Coast Guard had made me its first "journalist"; finally with 20 years' service, I retired at the age of 37, determined to make a full time career of writing. I wrote mostly magazine articles; my first book was "The Autobiography of Malcolm X."

Then one Saturday in 1965 I happened to be walking past the National Archives building in Washington. Across the interim years I had thought of Grandma's old stories--otherwise I can't think what diverted me up the Archives' steps. And when a main reading room desk attendant asked if he could help me, I wouldn't have dreamed of admitting to him some curiosity hanging on from boyhood about my slave forebears. I kind of bumbled that I was interested in census records of Alamance County, North Carolina, just after the Civil War.

The microfilm rolls were delivered, and I turned them through the machine with a building sense of intrigue, viewing in different census takers' penmanship an endless parade of names. After about a dozen microfilmed rolls, I was beginning to tire, when in utter astonishment I looked upon the names of Grandma's parents: Tom Murray, Irene Murray . . . older sisters of Grandma's as well--every one of them a name that I'd heard countless times on her front porch.

It wasn't that I hadn't believed Grandma. You just didn't not believe my Grandma. It was simply so uncanny actually seeing those names in print and in official U.S. Government records.

During the next several months I was back in Washington whenever possible, in the Archives, the Library of Congress, the Daughters of the American Revolution Library. (Whenever black attendants understood the idea of my search, documents I requested reached me with miraculous speed.) In one source or another during 1966 I was able to document at least the highlights of the cherished family story. I would have given anything to have told Grandma, but, sadly, in 1949 she had gone. So I went and told the only survivor of those Henning front-porch storytellers: Cousin Georgia Anderson, now in her 80's in Kansas City, Kan. Wrinkled, bent, not well herself, she was so overjoyed, repeating to me the old stories and sounds; they were like Henning echoes: "Yeah, boy, that African say his name was 'Kin-tay'; he say the banjo was 'ko,' an' the river 'Kamby-Bolong,' an' he was off choppin' wood to make his drum when they grabbed 'im!" Cousin Georgia grew so excited we had to stop her, calm her down, 'You go' head, boy! Your grandma an' all of 'em --they up there watching what you do!"

That week I flew to London on a magazine assignment. Since by now I was steeped in the old, in the past, scarcely a tour guide missed me--I was awed at so many historical places and treasures I'd heard of and read of. I came upon the Rosetta stone in the British Museum, marveling anew at how Jean Champollion, the French archaeologist, had miraculously deciphered its ancient demotic and hieroglyphic texts ...

The thrill of that just kept hanging around in my head. I was on a jet returning to New York when a thought hit me. Those strange, unknown-tongue sounds, always part of our family's old story...they were obviously bits of our original African "Kin-tay's" native tongue. What specific tongue? Could I somehow find out?

Back in New York, I began making visits to the United Nations Headquarters lobby; it wasn't hard to spot Africans. I'd stop any I could, asking if my bits of phonetic sounds held any meaning for them. A couple of dozen Africans quickly looked at me, listened, and took off--understandably dubious about some Tennesseean's accent alleging "African" sounds.

My research assistant, George Sims (we grew up together in Henning), brought me some names of ranking scholars of African linguistics. One was particularly intriguing: a Belgian- and English-educated Dr. Jan Vansina; he had spent his early career living in West African villages, studying and tape-recording countless oral histories that were narrated by certain very old African men; he had written a standard textbook, "The Oral Tradition."

So I flew to the University of Wisconsin to see Dr. Vansina. In his living room I told him every bit of the family story in the fullest detail that I could remember it. Then, intensely, he queried me about the story's relay across the generations, about the gibberish of "k" sounds Grandma had fiercely muttered to herself while doing her housework, with my brothers and me giggling beyond her hearing at what we had dubbed "Grandma's noises."

Dr. Vansina, his manner very serious, finally said, "These sounds your family has kept sound very probably of the tongue called 'Mandinka.'"

I'd never heard of any "Mandinka." Grandma just told of the African saying "ko" for banjo, or "Kamby Bolong" for a Virginia river.

Among Mandinka stringed instruments, Dr. Vansina said, one of the oldest was the "kora."

"Bolong," he said, was clearly Mandinka for "river." Preceded by "Kamby," it very likely meant "Gambia River."

Dr. Vansina telephoned an eminent Africanist colleague, Dr. Philip Curtin. He said that the phonetic "kin-tay" was correctly spelled "Kinte," a very old clan that had originated in Old Mali. The Kinte men traditionally were blacksmiths, and the women were potters and weavers.

I knew I must get to the Gambia River.

The first native Gambian I could locate in the U.S. was named Ebou Manga, then a junior attending Hamilton College in upstate Clinton, N.Y. He and I flew to Dakar, Senegal, then took a smaller plane to Yundum Airport, and rode in a van to Gambia's capital, Bathurst. Ebou and his father assembled eight Gambia government officials. I told them Grandma's stories, every detail I could remember, as they listened intently, then reacted. "'Kamby Bolong' of course is Gambia River!" I heard. "But more clue is your forefather's saying his name was 'Kinte.'" Then they told me something I would never even have fantasized--that in places in the back country lived very old men, commonly called griots, who could tell centuries of the histories of certain very old family clans. As for Kintes, they pointed out to me on a map some family villages, Kinte-Kundah, and Kinte-Kundah Janneh-Ya, for instance.

The Gambian officials said they would try to help me. I returned to New York dazed. It is embarrassing to me now, but despite Grandma's stories, I'd never been concerned much with Africa, and I had the routine images of African people living mostly in exotic jungles. But a compulsion now laid hold of me to learn all I could, and I began devouring books about Africa, especially about the slave trade. Then one Thursday's mail contained a letter from one of the Gambian officials, inviting me to return there.

Monday I was back in Bathurst. It galvanized me when the officials said that a griot had been located who told the Kinte clan history--his name was Kebba Kanga Fofana. To reach him, I discovered, required a modified safari: renting a launch to get upriver, two land vehicles to carry supplies by a roundabout land route, and employing finally 14 people, including three interpreters and four musicians, since a griot would not speak the revered clan histories without background music.

The boat Baddibu vibrated upriver, with me acutely tense: Were these Africans maybe viewing me as but another of the pith-helmets? After about two hours, we put in at James Island, for me to see the ruins of the once British-operated James Fort. Here two centuries of slave ships had loaded thousands of cargoes of Gambian tribespeople. The crumbling stones, the deeply oxidized swivel cannon, even some remnant links of chain seemed all but impossible to believe. Then we continued upriver to the left-bank village of Albreda, and there put ashore to continue on foot to Juffure, village of the griot. Once more we stopped, for me to see toubob kolong, "the white man's well," now almost filled in, in a swampy area with abundant, tall, saw-toothed grass. It was dug two centuries ago to "17 men's height deep" to insure survival drinking water for long-driven, famishing coffles of slaves.

Walking on, I kept wishing that Grandma could hear how her stories had led me to the "Kamby Bolong." (Our surviving storyteller Cousin Georgia died in a Kansas City hospital during this same morning, I would learn later.) Finally, Juffure village's playing children, sighting us, flashed an alert. The 70-odd people came rushing from their circular, thatch-roofed, mud-walled huts, with goats bounding up and about, and parrots squawking from up in the palms. I sensed him in advance somehow, the small man amid them, wearing a pillbox cap and an off-white robe--the griot. Then the interpreters went to him, as the villagers thronged around me.

And it hit me like a gale wind; every one of them, the whole crowd, was jet black. An enormous sense of guilt swept me--a sense of being some kind of hybrid . . . a sense of being impure among the pure. It was an awful sensation.

The old griot stepped away from my interpreters and the crowd quickly swarmed around him--all of them buzzing. An interpreter named A. B. C. Salla came to me; he whispered: "Why they stare at you so, they have never seen here a black American." And that hit me: I was symbolizing for them twenty-five millions of us they had never seen. What did they think of me--of us?

Then abruptly the old griot was briskly walking toward me. His eyes boring into mine, he spoke in Mandinka, as if instinctively I should understand--and A. B. C. Salla translated:

"Yes . . . we have been told by the forefathers . . . that many of us from this place are in exile. . . in that place called America...and in other places."

I suppose I physically wavered, and they thought it was the heat; rustling whispers went through the crowd, and a man brought me a low stool. Now the whispering hushed--the musicians had softly begun playing Kora and balafon, and a canvas sling lawn seat was taken by the griot, Kebba Kanga Fofana, aged 73 "rains" (one rainy season each year). He seemed to gather himself into a physical rigidity, and he began speaking the Kinte clan's ancestral oral history; it came rolling from his mouth across the next hours...17th and 19th-century Kinte lineage details, predominately what men took wives; the children they "begot," in the order of their births; those children's mates and children.

Events frequently were dated by some proximate singular physical occurrence. It was as if some ancient scroll were printed indelibly within the grio't brain. Each few sentences or so, he would pause for an interpreter's translation to me. I distill here the essence:

The Kinte clan began in Old Mali, the men generally blacksmiths ". . . who conquered fire," and the women potters and weavers. One large branch of the clan moved to Mauretania from where one son of the clan, Kairaba Kunta Kinte, a Moslem Marabout holy man, entered Gambia. He lived first in the village of Pakali N'Ding; he moved next to Jiffarong village; ". . .and then he came here, into our own village of Juffure."

In Juffure, Kairaba Kunta Kinte took his first wife, ". . .a Mandinka maiden, whose name was Sireng. By her, he begot two sons, whose names were Janneh and Saloum. Then he got a second wife, Yaisa. By her, he begot a son, Omoro."

The three sons became men in Juffure. Janneh and Saloum went off and found a new village, Kinte-Kundah Janneh-Ya. "And then Omoro, the youngest son, when he had 30 rains, took a wife a maiden, Binta Kebba.

"And by her, he begot four sons--Kunta, Lamin, Suwadu, and Madi..."

Sometimes, a "begotten," after his naming, would be accompanied by some later-occurring detail, perhaps as ". . .in time of big water (flood), he slew a water buffalo." Having named those four sons, now the griot stated such a detail.

"About the time the king's soldiers came, the eldest of these four sons, Kunta, when he had about 16 rains, went away from this village, to chop wood to make a drum . . .and he was never seen again..."

Goose-pimples the size of lemons seemed to pop all over me. In my knapsack were my cumulative notebooks, the first of them including how in my boyhood, my Grandma, Cousin Georgia and the others told of the African "Kin-tay" who always said he was kidnapped near his village--while chopping wood to make a drum...

I showed the interpreter, he showed and told the griot, who excitedly told the people; they grew very agitated. Abruptly then they formed a human ring, encircling me, dancing and chanting. Perhaps a dozen of the women carrying their infant babies rushed in toward me, thrusting the infants into my arms--conveying, I would later learn, "the laying on of hands . . . through this flesh which is us, we are you, and you are us." The men hurried me into their mosque, their Arabic praying later being translated outside: "Thanks be to Allah for returning the long lost from among us." Direct descendants of Kunta Kinte's blood brothers were hastened, some of them from nearby villages, for a family portrait to be taken with me, surrounded by actual ancestral sixth cousins. More symbolic acts filled the remaining day.

When they would let me leave, for some reason I wanted to go away over the African land. Dazed, silent in the bumping Land Rover, I heard the cutting staccato of talking drums. Then when we sighted the next village, its people came thronging to meet us. They were all--little naked ones to wizened elders--waving, beaming, amid a cacophony of crying out; and then my ears identified their words: "Meester Kinte! Meester Kinte!"

Let me tell you something: I am a man. But I remember the sob surging up from my feet, flinging up my hands before my face and bawling as I had not done since I was a baby...the jet-black Africans were jostling, staring...I didn't care, with the feelings surging. If you really knew the odyssey of us millions of black Americans, if you really knew how we came in the seeds of our forefathers, captured, driven, beaten, inspected, bought, branded, chained in foul ships, if you really knew, you needed weeping...

Back home, I knew that what I must write, really, was our black saga, where any individual's past is the essence of the millions'. Now flat broke, I went to some editors I knew, describing the Gambian miracle, and my desire to pursue the research; Doubleday contracted to publish, and Reader's Digest to condense the projected book; then I had advances to travel further.

What ship brought Kinte to Grandma's "'Naplis" (Annapolis, Md., obviously)? The old griot's time reference to "king's soldiers" sent me flying to London. Feverish searching at last identified, in British Parliament records, "Colonel O'Hare's Forces," dispatched in mid-1767 to protect the then British-held James Fort whose ruins I'd visited. So Kunta Kinte was down in some ship probably sailing later that summer from the Gambia River to Annapolis.

Now I feel it was fated that I had taught myself to write in the U.S. Coast Guard. For the sea dramas I had concentrated on had given me years of experience searching among yellowing old U.S. maritime records. So now in English 19th Century marine records I finally tracked ships reporting themselves in and out to the Commandant of the Gambia River's James Fort. And then early one afternoon I found that a Lord Ligonier under a Captain Thomas Davies had sailed on the Sabbath of July 5, 1767. Her cargo: 3,700 pounds of beeswax, 800 pounds of cotton, 32 ounces of Gambian gold, and 140 slaves; her destination: Anapolis."

That night I recrossed the Atlantic. In the Library of Congress the Lord Ligonier's arrival was one brief line in "Shipping In The Port Of Annapolis--1748-1775." I located the author, Vaughan W. Brown, in his Baltimore brokerage office. He drove to Historic Annapolis, the city's historical society, and found me further documentation of her arrival on Sept. 29, 1767. (Exactly two centuries later, Sept. 29, 1967, standing, staring seaward from an Annapolis pier, again I knew tears). More help came in the Maryland Hall of Records. Archivist Phebe Jacobsen found the Lord Ligonier's arriving customs declaration listing, "98 Negroes"--so in her 86-day crossing, 42 Gambians had died, one among the survivors being 16-year-old Kunta Kinte. Then the microfilmed Oct. 1, 1767, Maryland Gazette contained, on page two, an announcement to prospective buyers from the ship's agents, Daniel of St. Thos. Jenifer and John Ridout (the Governor's secretary): "from the River GAMBIA, in AFRICA...a cargo of choice, healthy SLAVES..."

Spin-offs of a family search

I have told of the most dramatic successes of my search, but it has also led to other finds. In New York one morning, W. Colston Leigh, who arranges my lectures, asked if I'd fly on short notice to Simpson College in Indianola, La., to take the place of an ailing client. Barely making it, I spoke of my long search--then the Academic Dean, Waller Wiser, told me that from things I'd said, he knew he was of the seventh generation from the Wallers of Spotsylvania County, Va., who had bought my fore-father. The college since has given me the honorary Doctorate of Letters' Waller presented it. Every time that he and I get the chance to talk now, we speculate upon why we met after 200 years.

I also explored the lineage of my Dad's mother. She was small, very fair blonde, with blue eyes and such quickness of movement that she had always been called "Cricket." Grandma Haley often told of her girlhood on a plantation in Alabama, where her mother was "Easter," a slave, and her father was a Civil War colonel. Well, just curious, I identified the colonel in microfilmed census rolls in the National Archives, and also his father. Then I found that the father had come to America in 1799, from his native County Monaghan, Ireland. That rocked me; I'd never felt any Irish within me. But sheer curiosity kept bugging me until I flew to Ireland, tracing the Colonel's lineage finally back as far as 1707 to a little town of Carrickmacross, where once again I got rocked: They were most hospitable--until they learned I'm Protestant.

Here at home, deep discussions occur these days with my two younger brothers, both now Washingtonians, George as Chief Counsel of the U.S. Urban Mass Transportation Administration, and Julius as a Navy Department architect. We are giving to our ancestral Juffure village a new mosque--as a personal symbol. But Kunta Kinte really was but one among those many millions of enslaved African forebears, whose seeds are the black generations of North and South America and the West Indies. Just recently, we have incorporated the nonprofit Kinte Foundation in the District of Columbia. It exists to create a black genealogical library.

For my research has revealed that an unsuspected wealth of records exists to identify slaves and early free blacks. In antebellum documents in innumerable courthouses and libraries, in countless homes' old trunks and chests and attics, in no end of other places, there are plantation slave lists; records of slaves sold, bought, hired out and run away. There are slave traveling passes, manumission (freedom) papers; there are wills bequeathing slaves, lists of black churchgoers, marriage records and old personal diaries, journals, notebooks and letters which contain the names of 19th-century blacks. All of these the library will gather.

If my efforts have led to dramatic finds, though, some have ended in failure. Is there anybody who can help me to document my great-great grandpa "Chicken George" Lea's sailing to England around the eighteen-fifties? Grandma and Cousin Georgia always told of a "rich Englishman" hiring away the great slave gamecocker from Tom Lea. They said this Englishman took "Chicken George" on a ship "to fight his roosters against anybody's" in English, then French gamecock pits. Then returning to North Carolina, and being given his freedom by his father-master shortly before the Civil War, "Chicken George" participated in the gory battle of Fort Pillow.

I've dug into accounts of cockfighting in North Carolina, England and France; what little I have been able to find finally came from cockfighting historian Robin Walker in Glasgow, Scotland. If you know of any promising sources, please write me c/o Kinte Foundation, 716 National Press Building, Washington, D.C. 20004.--A.H.

Haley's Article, "My Furthest Back Person - The African":

Reading Questions

1. What did Alex Haley overhear as a child which made him curious about his ancestors? (His family was talking about plantation life)

2. What specific clues did he have about one African ancestor?

   'Naplis

   Mas' John Waller

   Toby

   Kizzy

   Ko

   Kamby Bolong

   Many words began with "K" sound

   Kin-Tay

   Mas' Tom Lea

   Chicken George

   Maltida

   Tom

   Mas' Murray

   Irene

   Cynthia

3. What professions did Haley follow during his Coast Guard service?

   (Ship's cook - only mess jobs were open to Blacks in the Navy or Coast Guard during World War II

   Journalist - 1949 until retirement at 37)

4. With the writing of what book did Haley achieve fame as a writer? (Autobiography of Malcolm X)

5. How did Haley begin his search and what sources did he use?

   - National Archives
   - Library of Congress
   - Daughters of the American Revolution Library
   - Cousin Georgia Anderson
   - United Nations Delegates
   - Dr. Jan Vansin (African Linguistics expert)
   - Dr. Philip Curtin (Africanist Scholar)

- Ebou Manga (Gambian Student)
- Gambian Government Officials
- Village Storyteller of Kinte Clan of Gambia)
- British Parliament Records
- Maryland Hall of Records)

6. What kind of an emotional experience did Haley have when he found the village of his ancestor, Kunta Kinte, the African?
(Tears of Reception for the Joy - Homecoming of the Lost One)

7. How did Haley discover the exact date of his ancestor's Arrival at Annapolis, Maryland, Sept. 29, 1967?
(Customs Declaration Found in Maryland)

Haley's Article, "My Furthest Back Person - The African":

Discussion Questions

1. What feelings do you think motivated Haley's search for his African roots? (Hypothesis Formation and Data Testing)

   The teacher should write the hypotheses on the blackboard. Students should indicate which of the hypotheses are strongest based on the internal evidence of the Haley article. Students should cite evidence to support their conclusions.

2. Have you students ever felt that you would like to know more about your own ancestors? (Exploration of Feeling)

   Discuss with the class examples from their own backgrounds. Which side of their family do they know the most about? Why?

   How could you trace your own roots if you were so inclined? What limitations might you encounter? Would you have more or less problems than Haley?

3. Why do you think some people may be more concerned about their roots than others?

4. How do you feel when you discovered some obscure but important facts about your own family history?

   How do you think Haley felt when he got "home" to Africa?

5. How might knowing your ancestral roots be linked to your present identity?

   How was it linked to Haley's identity?

6. Do you think that knowing your own roots could lead to an unhappy result? If so, under what circumstance? If not, why not?

7. Why do you think that Haley was so happy and proud to discover his African roots?

8. What did you learn about slavery from this reading? (concept formation) (generalization formation)

   The teacher should write the ideas students mention about slavery on the board. After they have been listed the teacher ask students to make generalizations which relate one concept to another.

9. At two points in the story Haley cries. How do those two incidents differ? Have you ever cried for reasons similar to Haley?

   How did you feel?

   How did he feel? (Exploration of feeling)

10. Spin-offs of a family search:

    a) When Haley met Dean Waller Wiser of Simpson College, whose ancestor had bought Haley's ancestor as a slave, what ideas do you think went through their minds?

       Teacher should write them on the board in two columns

    How did their ideas differ? Do you think that you could be a friend of a man descended from a person who held your people in bondage?

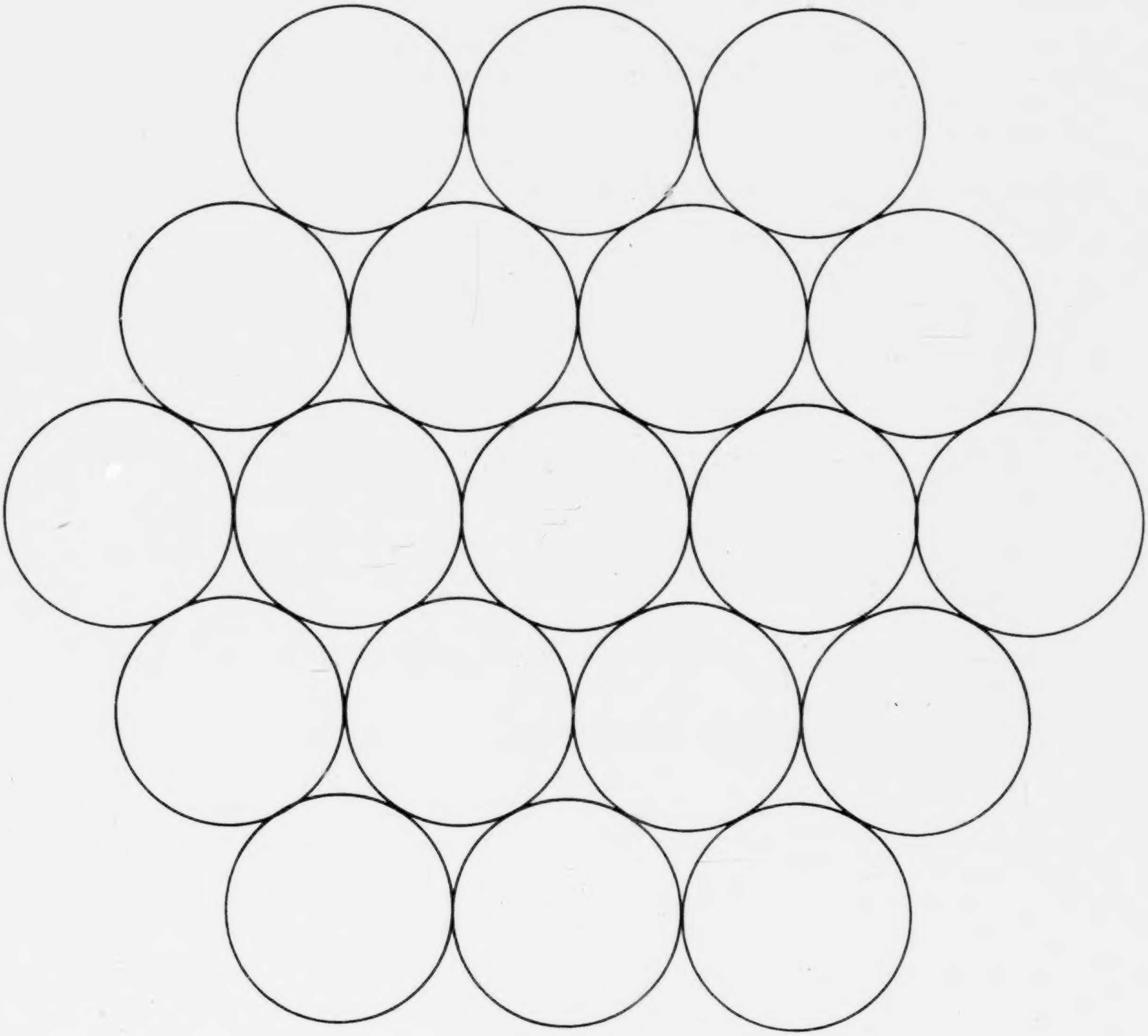
    b) When Haley traced another ancestor back to a Civil War Colonel and ultimately back to Ireland, he had a different experience in "homecoming."

       Why did Haley feel his reception might be different from his African reception?

       What was surprising about the Irish attitude toward Haley?

5. WHO AM I?

(Concept: Identity Profile)



The student should fill in his name at the center and write in single identity factors which determine who he is. (More circles may be added)

Teacher Note: This exercise is to get students to brainstorm in identity factors which define them. A definition set of factors is not necessary.

6. FIXED AND NON-FIXED IDENTITY FACTORS

(Concept: Fixed and Non-Fixed Identity Factors)

Which of the following identity factors are fixed and which non-fixed. Fixed identity factors are those that cannot be socially altered. Add or subtract factors as you see fit. (F = Fixed N = Non-Fixed)

- 1. Age
- 2. Sex (male or female)
- 3. Religion
- 4. Race
- 5. Friends
- 6. Family
- 7. Political Affiliation
- 8. Social-Economics Class
- 9. Education
- 10. Ethnic Background
- 11. Nationality
- 12. Species
- 13. Job
- 14. Where you live
- 15. Height
- 16. Weight
- 17. Physical Strength
- 18. Health
- 19. Morality
- 20. Reputation
- 21. Looks

Fixed and Non-Fixed Identity Factors Discussion Questions

1. Through a discussion, students should decide which factors are fixed and which are non-fixed. (Surprisingly race in America has a social definition. See Plessy Ferguson Supreme Court case, Brown vs. Board of Education, Supreme Court case or the book An American Dilemma.)

2. After students have decided which are fixed or non-fixed identity factors and determined that a good many are socially or cultural determined, students should do the following:

   a) Rank the factors of identity that they consider most important for themselves on a scale of 1 - 10 in ink.

   The teacher might discuss the basis of their selections and ask students to indicate the basis for their ranking.

   b) Then students should rank factors of identity that they believe are most important to become a success in the United States on a scale from 1 - 10 in pencil.

   The teacher should explore with the class any discrepancies which appear on the two rankings. Students should be asked to recall that in the Promise and Paradox Unit, (See Section A this booklet) racial identity seemed to be a factor of some importance. That identity factor should be discussed in terms of:

a) jobs
b) housing
c) education

7. FAMILY, SCHOOL AND PREJUDICE

(Concept: Early Influences on Identity)

1. Family membership is one aspect of identity which is very important through late adolescence since it is within that primary group that the earliest identity orientations are developed.

2. In school, other identity factors are learned.

3. In two columns

Family	School

List the identity factors and indicate the approximate age at which they are learned in family and school. Some factors may fit in more than one column. (The school tracking system might be used to discuss how students see themselves and how they may be seen by some teachers.)

4. In what ways is identity taught?

   - Force
   - Logical explanation
   - Emotional appeal
   - Ritual
   - Ceremony
   - Habit
   - Custom
   - Tradition, etc.

5. Which social institutions affect identity more, family or school?

6. How do your friends help you define who you are? (So birds of a feather really flock together?)

7. How do magazines, newspapers, radio, television, and movies help you define who you are?

FAMILY, SCHOOL AND PREJUDICE

Prejudiced - How Do People Get That Way?

By William Van Til

(Concept: Personality and Prejudice)

What Causes Prejudice?

Some psychologists believe that personality is related to prejudice.

To try to find out, let us take a close look at the experiences of two young people growing up. We will select experiences which have nothing to do with learning prejudice toward any minority group. Each of the two young people selected lives in the same community. Neither hears more or less of prejudice. Yet one of the two is more likely to become prejudiced than the other. How come?

Ted grows up in a warm and friendly family atmosphere. His family does things together and has fun together. Family members, though they have their difficult moments, generally like each other - enjoy each other's company. Most people have confidence in Ted and respect him.

Thus, Ted learns to be confident of himself. He knows that there are rules of good conduct and he usually understands and accepts the "why" of the rules. Sometimes he misbehaves, and he is corrected. But always he feels that the people who straighten him out still like him. Sympathy is not completely absent. He encounters authority first in the shape of his parents and then at his "second home," the school. People in the school usually seem reasonable to Ted.

As Ted grows, his freedom increases. He plays a still greater part in determining the rules under which he operates. For instance, he talks over with his family the time he gets home on weekend evenings. He helps decide what jobs he will do around the house and when he will get them done.

When, as a high school student, Ted thinks back to his parents, he especially remembers the love and affection and understanding he found at home. He thinks of his parents as persons with a variety of interests. He remembers with pleasure certain big occasions in the history of his family.

Jim has a different experience. He grows up in a cold, unfriendly atmosphere. There are many moments and hours of resentment and hostility among his family members. There are many feelings of antagonism toward each other which scar family realti/nships. Most people do not have confidence in Jim, and they show little respect for him.

In Jim's family, he gets familiar with fear quite early. He has practically nothing to do with setting the rules of conduct. Yet he is expected to conform rigidly. When he doesn't he is disciplined severely. Sometimes he is physically punished in severe fashion. Threats of punishment often hang over him.

Jim feels that many rules are unfair, that he is punished for reasons that he doesn't understand. He suspects that whether or not he is punished depends more on his father's mood and temper rather than on "the rules." To Jim, school also seems a place of unreasonable rules, rigid authorities, power directed against him.

As Jim grows older, he finds himself still hemmed in by rules he hasn't helped to make. People tell him what to do rather than consult with him. Sometimes he rebels and gets away with tyings. Sometimes his rebellion is swiftly punished.

Jim grows up with the feeling that people are against him. Others seem to get better treatment - his brother, a teammate, a friend. He feels dependent and at the mercy of the strong. They lay down the law to him.

As a high school student, when he thinks back to his family, he remembers the power of the stronger of his parents in keeping him in line. He recalls threats, punishment, parental strain, momemts when he was terrified and deprived. He suspects that he must have been a little devil or mean kid who had to be treated with an iron hand. He guesses that his parents had to act the way they did to "bring him up right" and avoid "spoiling."

These are the beginnings of two boys. Notice that their experiences have nothing to do with learning that certain minority groups are supposed to be bad. Yet the psychologist tell us just such experiences seem to foster attitudes of prejudice or acceptance. Notice what is likely to happen to Ted and Jim's personalities as they grow up.

Ted is more likely to regard teachers or employers or other authorities in his life as reasonable. He doesn't worship strength or power. Nor does he oppose or fight all authorities. He is interested in exploring "different" people and situations. While he may have soaked up some of the misconceptions that surround him, Ted can more easily get rid of false ideas. As to minority group members, Ted will not be particularly inclined to be suspicious or mistrustful. In short, he is likely to accept people as people. His own experience is growing up was good, and he does not expect the worst from the world.

How about Jim, filled with fears left over from his childhood? Jim's memories are of failure and punishment. Like everybody else, Jim greatly wants security and safety. In his earlier years, he has often been left out, and now he is resolved that he won't be left out again.

So what is Jim likely to do? He is likely to try to control things so as to feel "safe." Sometimes he can do this by regarding some other groups of people as undesirable characters who should not be accepted. He draws lines between himself and others. Since others seem to him to be different, he regards them as bad. He sees himself as being one of the good people. If others are kept in their places, he can feel that he belongs and is important. Jim has little chance of correcting his attitude because he avoids the new and different.

Another road to security for Jim is through following strong people. Jim depends heavily upon strong authority to tell him what to do. He is more interested in the strength of the leader than in the direction in which the leader is going. If he can identify himself with powerful people, he feels safer, more protected.

After all, as Jim sees it, the world is a jungle. You have to have protection from people who want to "put things over on you." You have to struggle against the odds and work against the breaks. In this dog-eat-dog world, people will do you dirt if you are not careful. People can't be trusted.

So Jim gives up his right to be a free man. He runs with the crowd. He follows the customs that seem strongest. He has never learned how to develop his own standards. He has always been told. So he conforms.

As he grows up, he believes in toughness, in rigid standards, and in rigorous discipline. After all, he was disciplined severely, and he turned out all right, didn't he? Now that he looks back on it, his parents were right, he believes, to be so hard on him. He will teach his own children to jump when he speaks and to obey without question and you can bet on that! People have to get over being weak and soft. Put fear into them and they will manage better.

Full of fears, often blocked, Jim takes out his resentment on others. His background is one of anger, not confidence. What easier target is there than somebody obviously different from him - of a different color or church or of a foreign name or appearance? So he takes out his tensions and insecurities by words and acts directed against others he can keep in their places. Whom he chooses to dislike depends on whom everybody else dislikes. In a Nazi society, Jim would dislike Jews. If he lived in South Africa, Jim's target would be Indians, mixed bloods, and Negroes. In a society where many disliked people with green hair, Jim would probably dislike people with green hair!

If he finds himself not rising in the world, not being a financial success, he has a new excuse for blaming a minority group. He can't admit that the fault is in himself. He must find a scapegoat, somebody or something to blame. The word scapegoat comes from an ancient religious observance of primitive people. In a ceremony, the priest went through the ritual of heaping all the sins of the tribe on a goat. The scapegoat was then driven into the wilderness supposedly carrying with it all of the tribe's sins. For Jim, a minority group is often a convenient target or scapegoat on which he can blame his own weaknesses.

Led by his fears and frustrations, Jim easily soaks up antagonisms and hostilities that surround him. He is easy prey for a loud-mouthed agitator. In the mob, he feels strong. Through a sneer, he can feel superior.

Prejudice - How Do People Get That Way?

Discussion Questions

1. What relationship does this article point out between child rearing and personality development?

2. Do you think that the relationship between child rearing and personality development is as close as the author tries to indicate?

3. Are there really prejudiced personality types, or are some people simply more prejudiced than others?

4. This reading is based on a study conducted some years ago by the sociologist Adorno who investigated the "authoritarian personality." It grew out of an interest in the personalities of people who became Fascists or Nazis during World War II. Adorno was attempting to explain the forces which shaped behavior that hurt people defined as the "enemy." Willingness to commit atrocities and war crimes could be partially explained on the basis of personality development.

   In your opinion, does this reading have relevance to American society in 1972? If so, how?

5. How important is the family in shaping personality?

   Some children don't "turn out" as their parents anticipated.
   Do parents control all the "ingredients"?

6. How does school environment (especially primary school) shape personality development? (Teachers, tracking, hidden curriculum of the middle class home, peers, physical facilities, administration, special services, etc.)

Outline on Prejudice

Prejudice is not something that can be measured with scientific accuracy. It may be possible to describe one person as more or less prejudiced than another person. Nor are the patterns of prejudice always consistent. A person may be among the most fair-minded of men under one set of circumstances and yet be prejudiced in another instance.

The word prejudice itself gives a clue to its meaning: prejudgment. Gordon Allport saw two ingredients to prejudice: 1) a feeling of favorableness or unfavorableness which in turn is 2) based on unsupported judgment.

Prejudice can be positive or negative, but social scientists concern themselves mainly with negative prejudice. Negative prejudice in modern America is directed against minorities, but this term too needs definition. Mere statistical minorities, such as teachers, Presbyterians, children, redheads, are not the object of study by social scientists precisely because they are not disparaged, discriminated against, or made scapegoats. Ethnic and religious minorities who receive such negative prejudice become psychological minorities, no just statistical minorities, and so become the object of our study.

A prejudiced person, of course, may or may not act on his feelings. Negative action is discrimination. Peter Rose distinguishes three kinds of individuals: the unprejudiced discriminator, the unprejudiced discriminator forced to discriminate because of community pressures, and the prejudiced discriminator.

Social scientists and psychologists argue about the relative effects of social and psychological causes of prejudice. Social scientists say American society teaches prejudice. Psychologists say, if society trains people to be prejudiced, why are some individuals more prejudiced than others and why do people show different degrees of prejudice at various times in their lives.

Some of the causes of prejudice are:

I. Social Causes of Prejudice:

Isolation - Lack of contact between majority and minority members, especially contact with individuals of equal status, leads to ignorance.

Social Change - Disruption of the social structure and of social values leads to greater frustration and anomie of individuals. These tensions should not be underestimated as a cause of prejudice. Prejudice is well-known to be irrational and to cause people to find scapegoats for their frustrations and insecurity. It should be clear that American society today contains a great deal of tension for every citizen due to social upheavel.

Conformity - Children learn from their parents and peers to be prejudiced. Children also learn that it is desirable to conform to the culture of their community. By definition, every child goes through this enculturation process. Children are not necessarily explicitly taught "You should not play with Negroes," but they "catch" prejudice by learning to imitate their parents who do not associate with Negroes or with Catholics.

Experiences - Because children do not usually attend truly integrated schools, churches, etc., a child learns from his experiences that segregation or social separation are the American way of life.

Stereotypes - A significant part of American culture is a stereotyped view of various ethnic groups. A child early becomes exposed to these through literature and the mass media. It is not easy for a child, who has once learned that Jews are sly and shrewd or that the color black means evil, to unlearn these as an adult. They are part of his cultural heritage.

II. Psychological Causes of Prejudice: We all share in American culture. Why are some of us more prejudiced than others? It is not just a mental disturbance since many "normal" people are prejudiced.

Frustration - Perhaps the greatest cause for prejudice in a society is frustration. None of us can achieve what we want: wealth, beauty, utopia. Past societies have not held out this promise for the good life on earth, but our society does. How can we explain our inevitable failure to achieve perfection? We can accept our imperfections, a different thing when daily we are bombarded with TV's message that we could be perfect if we used certain products. Or we can project our failings onto others. Our culture provided us with sanctioned objects for our scapegoating ethnic and religious minorities.

Insecurity, Fear, Guilt - It is known by psychologists that a child raised in a home where parents are harsh and rejecting is more likely to be prejudiced. This child's lack of security as an adult will make it harder for him to adjust to frustration and therefore need a scapegoat.

Economic Advantage - An individual threatened economically by a minority group may accentuate his prejudices out of realistic economic fear. It has been shown that individuals moving up socially and economically are far less prejudiced than those failing socially and economically. (Bettelheim and Janowitz: Dynamics of Prejudice)

8. DRAW A PICTURE OF YOURSELF WHICH SHOWS WHO YOU REALLY ARE

(Concept: Self-Image and Reality)

If students draw a picture of *who they really are*, they may be very obedient to the teacher, but they do not understand the complex nature of the issue of identity. Some may draw representational pictures and others abstract charts, but, in any case, a completed picture would indicate that they do not fully appreciate the difficulty of fixing identity in a simple drawing. At any rate fixed identity factors (age, sex, race) may be easier to draw. It should be pointed out to students that highly visable identity factors may be the simplest to put on paper and, therefore, more easily used when dealing with other people. But they may really be the *least* important factors in terms of who a person *really* is as a human being.

The student who puts his pencil or pen down and refuses to draw any picture at all has obviously understood. He should be rewarded. Students should be made aware that not following instructions of the teacher in some cases may be the correct response. This may be the first time in the student's school life where blind unquestioning obedience to instructions was not rewarded. So, watch out!

9. JESSE: 'SOMEBODY' AUDIENCES: 'SOMEBODY'

(Concept: Positive Self-Image)

Rev. Jesse Jackson is a Black minister who is a leader in the social justice movement in Chicago, Illinois. He is a believer in the non-violent techniques for social change advocated by the late Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Reverend Jackson feels that in order to form a climate in which social change can take place in both the Black communities and the larger society new attitudes need to be developed. Black people especially, must view themselves in a positive manner after having been subjected to years of systematic denigration and discrimination.

Jesse Jackson's Warm-Up Exercise

The service has been going on for almost two hours, Tom Todd telling of the school crisis, Ed Riddick of the welfare crisis...songs by the People's Choir, the self-assured young black men and women, dressed in black, singing gospel music as well as it is sung anywhere in this country...searing, wailing music by the Gentlemen of Soul band, piano, organ, guitars, saxophones...Saturday morning meeting in the South Side, the best free show in Chicago and perhaps in America...a true American experience...so moving, as the choir and the band build, that chills run up one's spine.

But now, now, it is 10 o'clock, time for Jesse, Jesse in his corduroy trousers, striped shirt, leather vest, his Martin Luther King medallion hanging from his neck... Jesse with his big Afro and handsome mustache...

He is at the microphone, and the voices of 2,000 people rise in rollicking song and the theater seems to rock...funky piano and bleating saxophones...then, suddenly, the theater is quiet.

JESSE: I am--
AUDIENCE: I am--
JESSE: Somebody.
AUDIENCE: Somebody.
JESSE: I may be poor.
AUDIENCE: I may be poor.
JESSE: But I am--
AUDIENCE: But I am--
JESSE: Somebody.
AUDIENCE: Somebody.
JESSE: I may be uneducated.
AUDIENCE: I may be uneducated.
JESSE: But I am--
AUDIENCE: But I am--
JESSE: Somebody.
AUDIENCE: Somebody.
JESSE: I may be unskilled.
AUDIENCE: I may be unskilled.
JESSE: But I am--
AUDIENCE: But I am--
JESSE: Somebody.
AUDIENCE: Somebody.
JESSE: I may be on dope.
AUDIENCE: I may be on dope.
JESSE: I may have lost hope.
AUDIENCE: I may have lost hope.
JESSE: But I am...somebody.
AUDIENCE: But I am...somebody.

JESSE: I am...black...beautiful...proud...I must be respected...I must be protected.
AUDIENCE: I am...black...beautiful...proud...I must be respected...I must be protected.
JESSE: I am...God's child.
AUDIENCE: I am...God's child.
JESSE: What time is it?
AUDIENCE: What time is it?
JESSE: Nation time.
AUDIENCE: Nation time.
JESSE:...all right...look out....

"Jesse: "Somebody" Audience: "Somebody":

Discussion Questions

1. Depending upon the teacher's skill, he might attempt to lead the class in the choral response or in a series of responses especially adapted for school. For example, "Even though I'm only a student or a young person, I am somebody!"

2. Students should then receive a copy of Jackson's, "I Am Somebody" format.

3.

What negative ideas of self is Jackson trying to remove from his audience?	What positive ideas of self is Jackson trying to instill in his audience?
(The teacher should list them on the board)	(The teacher should list them on the board)

4. Students should be asked if they think that Jackson's technique is a) necessary (to create a new identity) b) effective as a step in the process of changing identity.

5. What kinds of common environmental and psychological experiences did the audience share? Which of those experiences are common to a) life in a Black urban ghetto b) life in the suburbs where you live.

6. What kinds of hypotheses might you develop about problems faced by some urban Black people based upon this brief reading?

7. What parallels do you see between this "warm-up" exercise and a cheerleading session? What similarities? What differences? What is the function of incantation in religious experiences?

8. Which kinds of experiences do you think move people the most -- cold logical appeals to reason or warm emotional appeals to the heart?

9. Martin Luther King, Jr's.
"I Have a Dream"speech could be played at this point to show the influence of a speech in moving minds and hearts. A discussion of implicit as well as explicit values might also ensue. There is also an excellent film on King's life and death which has great emotional appeal for students.

10. WE MADE IT, WHY CAN'T THEY

Quoted from Beyond Racism by Whitney Young, Jr.

(Concept: White Understanding of the Effects of Past Racism)

Black America was created in slavery and took shape over another hundred years of oppression. It is "another country," in the midst of our cities as well as in the countryside. Black America is the rundown tenement in Harlem, the sharecropper's shack in Mississippi, and the neat bungalow in Watts.

Black America is now forging its own identity from its own experience. "Black is not a color of the skin," writes actress Ellen Holly. "It is a unique experience shared by Negro Americans, however varied they may be, that sets them apart from any other group and results in a certain kind of psychological adjustment that no other group has to make--namely, the adjustment of learning how to survive, and perhaps even flourish, in an atmosphere that is almost totally hostile."

Few White Americans understand the depth of the hostility Black people face, or the sheer effort Blacks have had to make simply to survive. Other groups have met with discrimination but no other minority, with the exception of the American Indian, has been so totally relegated to the farthest corners of American life.

One of the questions most often asked is "We made it, why can't they?" Nearly every nationality group in the American melting pot cherishes a newly won middle-class status, erecting myths of the perseverance of immigrant ancestors who, unaided, wrested wealth and respectability from an America willing to reward hard work. "Negroes must be lazy," many whites conclude: "black people want it handed to them on a platter, while we had to work for what we got."

No, Negroes aren't lazy. Black men worked and died building America. They worked from sunup to sundown in the fields of the South while their white masters sipped mint Juleps in the shade. They built the railroads of the South, and everywhere did the dirty work in the hardest jobs--jobs that white people considered beneath them. Even today, black people perform the grueling stoop labor on the farm, the pick-axe laboring work in the cities. They do the housework and the laundry, and fill a host of other insecure, ill-paid jobs white people won't touch. When Ford and the other auto-makers announced that they would hire 6,500 unemployed workers for factory jobs, 14,000 blacks lined up in front of the unemployment offices before they opened. No, blacks aren't lazy; and if they have learned anything from their experience in America, it is that no one will hand them anything on a platter.

But blacks haven't "made it," while other groups have, and the reasons are no less real for being complex.

The great waves of immigrants reached these shores at a time when America was under-populated and the virgin lands of the West were still open to settlement. Land agents plastered Europe with recruiting posters to attract settlers. When the immigrants arrived here, the government turned over to them tracts of fertile land, provided them with low-cost loans to buy equipment, and then taught them how to cultivate their land.

Those who stayed in the cities found laboring jobs plentiful. All that was needed here were a strong back and a willing mind. Men could go into business: there was room for a host of small enterprises servicing the ethnic community. Of course, they met with discrimination, but they could still get jobs at decent pay, and as their numbers increased prejudice gave way to grudging tolerance, and finally to acceptance.

Immigrant groups found ethnic communities already established, which had institutions that helped them to adjust. Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe found a well-established Jewish community, which included many rich individuals and a tradition of philanthropy. Irish and Italian immigrants were helped by the Catholic church and Catholic relief agencies.

Those who settled in the cities quickly became a political force, catered to and serviced by the big-city political machines. The traditional Christmas basket was just one of a whole range of services that included jobs, recreational facilities for children, and help in dealing with landlords and city agencies. Eventually some of these groups, such as the Irish in Boston, took over the city government from the hostile Yankee patricians.

And it didn't happen overnight. The immigrant father didn't throw away his shovel to work in his son's law office. It took several generations of slow but steady advancement. Children left ethnic enclaves, and their children went on to college. Some changed their names, but all found that they had the choice of remaining hyphenated Americans or of melting into the landscape of white America, virtually indistinguishable from their neighbors. The war and the postwar economic boom catapulted most ethnic groups into middle-class prosperity and full acceptance.

But the black American, who was here before the Mayflower, was left behind.

When boatloads of European immigrants were being settled on fertile lands in the expanding West, the black man was tied to the Southern soil in a state of peonage. Legally free, he was in fact as enslaved as ever. Those in the cities saw the few jobs open to them disappear as white employers preferred whites. Even before the Civil War, Frederick Douglass was moved to write of free Negroes in the North: "Every hour sees us elbowed out of some employment to make room perhaps for some newly arrived immigrants, whose hunger and color are thought to give them a title to especial favor."

Slavery left black people without the strong family structure immigrants found so vital. Black men saw their wives sold, and black mothers lost their children on the auction block. While tightly knit European families were working together, black people were just beginning to build the institution of the family.

By the time black people became immigrants themselves, moving northward to settle in the cities, they found a totally different economic environment. Strong backs were no longer needed--machines did the heavy work. Job requirements changed: education was the key to economic success and the schools of the South had been geared to providing farm laborers, not engineers or scientists.

The black man was caught in a technological revolution. The unskilled labor, which gave other groups an economic foothold, was no longer needed, and the highly paid skilled trades were locked up tight behind a WHITES ONLY sign. The small businesses, the economic lifeline of other groups, became outmoded in an age of chain stores and shopping centers. The political machines, which helped sustain other groups with jobs and facors, were largely rendered powerless by reform government and civil service. Poor education and prejudice kept blacks out of the white-collar office jobs which were the new stronghold of the emerging middle classes.

But the black migrant differed from his predecessors in the city in yet another, more crucial way. He was black. The black man could not change the color of his skin and melt into the white background. He couldn't simply correct an accent or change a name to avoid discrimination. He found himself at the mercy of an economic and social system that excluded all blacks, and there was nothing, absolutely nothing, he could do himself to win an equal chance.

Whatever grudging concessions the system was willing to make for European immigrants, it absolutely refused to grant them to the black man. The earlier immigrants may have realized that their ten-hour day of ditch-digging or sweatshop labor would not result in riches for themselves, but they had ample evidence that their efforts would pay off for their children. They knew that the system was open-ended and that whatever they scraped together for a son's education would pay off in his freedom, if not their own. The black worker labored as hard, but he knew that he could only hope to bequeath his shovel to his son; he knew the system was closed, and that a black man dared not hope.

In the face of this, the real question that should be asked is not "Why haven't Negroes made it?" It is a testimony to the perseverance of black citizens, and to their abiding faith in an America that systematically persecuted them, that so many black people have wrenched a measure of success from their hostile surroundings.

But times are changing. The more overt forms of repression are being neutralized by the various civil rights laws of recent years and by the growth of a more civilized attitude about racial matters on the part of growing numbers of white Americans, and now black men are no longer willing to tolerate their third-class status.

The black man today is fully aware of his inferior status. He knows that it is man-made, not God given. He is no longer isolated in the rural backwaters of our country, dependent upon local feudal plantation-owners for his news of the outside world. He has the same access to radio, newspapers, and television as whites. He has had enough contact with whites to appreciate the good things in life they take for granted, but he also has enough contact with whites to be aware of the hypocrisy the corruption, and the moral rot that pervades society. He no longer looks up to the white person and to white society as models to emulate.

Black people are no longer satisfied with the crumbs from the white man's table. The black man knows that his blood, sweat, and tears are on every dollar bill that pumps our giant economy--an economy that relegates him to the bottom of the ladder in jobs, in income, and in all areas of life. The black man wants his share of America--and he wants it now. He's had promises for 350 years; now only results will do.

This is hard for many whites to understand. The white person sees some very dramatic gains Negroes have made in the past several years. He sees black men in a variety of jobs they never held before. He even sees black men in government, the Senate, and on the Supreme Court. He reads about the expanding black middle class, and he may even take more notice of the new cars he sees driven by blacks or the expensive suits worn by some black acquaintances. But what he sees are the absolute gains made by some blacks. They are the visible top of the iceberg; hidden from his view are the ghetto masses whose lives have been relatively untouched by the slight changes that have taken place. While some blacks have made measureably significant gains, so, too, have most whites, and the position of black citizens relative to whites is only slightly changed.

We Made it, Why Can't They?

Reading Questions

(Concept: White Perception and Incomprehension)

1. What factors created Black America according to Whitney Young, Jr.?
   (Slavery and 100 years of oppression)

2. Where do Blacks live?
   (In both rural and urban areas)

3. What is Black identity, and how is it being shaped?
   (Black identity is a unique experience developed in a hostile environment.)

4. Why don't most Whites understand the depth of hostility Black people face?
   (Few have experienced such pervasive Discrimination.)

5. Many Whites say, "We made it, why can't they?" List some of the main points Young makes to answer this question.

   a) Blacks are not lazy. America was built through their labor. They are ready and eager to work if jobs are available.
   b) Other immigrants came to the U.S. when the West was open, land available, and farming still a viable way of life. Those who stayed in the cities found a demand for their labor in a growing urban economy. Immigrants had community organizations which served their social and political needs. Social mobility was possible for large numbers of immigrant children to enter the growing middle class as the economy boomed.
   c) Overt discrimination against Blacks and favoritism for Whites helped the immigrant newcomers exceed economically over the Blacks who had been in the country for a longer period of time.
   d) Slavery and its after-effects struck at the Black family which often had to survive under the most adverse conditions.
   e) Technological innovation, reduced need for unskilled workers, and demands for more advanced education found Blacks less prepared for Northern urban jobs when they began moving out of the rural South.
   f) Overt and covert forms of racial discrimination restricted and still restrict economic opportunities for Blacks in the U.S.

6. According to Young, how are times changing?

   a) Civil rights laws have lessened overt forms of discrimination
   b) Blacks are no longer willing to accept third class status.

7. Why do some Whites find it difficult to understand why Blacks are unrelenting in their demands for justice now?
   (They see dramatic instances of Black middle class success and fail to understand that vast numbers of Blacks have improved their conditions relative to Whites only slightly or not at all.)

We Made it, Why Can't They?

Discussion Questions

1. To what kind of an audience is Whitney Young, Jr., addressing his remarks on the changing identity and attitudes of Blacks in America?

2. How would you describe the tone of his discussion?

3. What is Young saying implicitly about the selective perception of the conditions affecting Blacks in America created by the mass media? Does he think that selective reporting of Black successes conveyes a balanced picture of Black opportunity?

   Students should view news programs with the assignment to record the kinds of stories concerning:

   a) Blacks
   b) Chicanos
   c) Native Americans
   d) Asian Americans

   which the average T.V. viewer is exposed to. The stories should be categorized as to content, length of time of the story, and manner in which the story is delivered.

   Some students might watch channel 7, others 5 and others 4 in order to develop a well rounded view of major news sources which provide information to most Americans.

   A similar assignment in connection with newspapers and where they place items relating to minority group events would also be enlightening in terms of making students aware of how editors can distort through selection of news story content, location in paper, and by length of article.

   The above media analysis activities should focus on how Whites get ideas concerning the Black community or other racial minorities as a follow-up to the Whitney Young, Jr., article.

   Television commercials are also a fertile ground for creating new images and might well be examined by students for emerging views of racial minorities.

11. BOY, YOU BETTER STOP THAT DREAMING"

Concepts: Generation Gap and Expectations

In his autobiography, Manchild in the Promised Land (1965), Claude Brown described his experience with the generation gap.

It seemed as though the folks, Mama and Dad, had never heard anything about Lincoln or the Emancipation Proclamation. They were going to bring the South up to Harlem with them....

She and Dad had been in New York since 1935. They were in New York, but it seemed like their minds were still down there in the South Carolina cotton fields. Pimp, Carole, and Margie (Brown's brother and sisters) had to suffer for it. I had to suffer for it too, but because I wasn't at home as much as the others, I had suffered less than anybody else....

(The folks) needed some help. The way I felt about it. I should have been their parents, because I had been out there on the streets, and I wasn't as far back in the woods as they were. I could have told them a whole lot of stuff that would have helped them.... if they had only listened to me.

I remember how Dad thought being a busboy was a real good job....He figured if I was making forty-five dollars a week, that was a whole lot of money....To him it was a good job because when he was nine years old, he'd plowed the fields from sunup to sundown....

I remember when Pimp was thirteen or fourteen. He was in the eighth grade. He came home one day and said, "Mama, I think I'm gonna become an Air Force pilot and fly a jet plane." It seemed a normal thing that any little boy might say to his mother and get some kind of encouragement, but that didn't happen in Pimp's case.

Mama told him, "Boy, don't you go wantin' things that ain't for you. You just go out there and get you a good job." A good job to Mama was a job making fifty or sixty dollars a week....That was enough to retire off, the way they used to talk about it.

Their lives were lived according to the superstitions and fears that they had been taught when they were children coming up in the Carolina cotton fields. It was all right for them down there, in that time, in that place, but it wasn't worth a damn up in New York....

I could sense the fear in Mama's voice when I told her once that I wanted to be a psychologist.

She said, "Boy, you better stop that dreamin' and get all those crazy notions outta your head." She was scared. She had the idea that colored people weren't suppose to want anything like that. You were supposed to just want to work in fields or be happy to be a janitor.

"Boy, You Better Stop That Dreaming":

(Concepts: - Self-perception
- Psychological survival
- Low aspirations in the face of racism
- Generation gap

Discussion Questions

1. How were Claude Brown's parents similar to other immigrants to New York? How were they different?

2. What kinds of attitudes did Brown's parents bring to New York from the South?

3. How were Claude's attitudes different from his parents? Why were they different?

4. Can a child be wiser in the ways of the world than his parents? (i.e., rural/urban split in experience)

5. How do you think that survival in New York differed from survival in South Carolina?

12. RECOMMENDATIONS ON RACE RELATIONS

"Atlanta Compromise"

Booker T. Washington, 1895

(Concepts: Accommodation and Gradualism)

. . . To those of my race who depend on bettering their condition in a foreign land or who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the Southern white man, who is their next door neighbor, I would say: "Cast down your bucket where you are - cast it down in making friends in every manly way, of the people of all races by whom you are surrounded."

Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions . . . Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labour and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life, (we) shall prosper in proportion as we learn to draw the line between the superficialand the substantial, the ornamental gewgaws of life and the useful. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin and not the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.

To those of the white race . . . were I permitted I would repeat what I say to my own race: "Cast down your bucket where you are." Cast it down among the eight millions of Negroes whose habits you know, whose fidelity and love you have tested in days when to have proved treacherous meant the ruin of your firesides. Cast down your bucket among these people who have, without strikes and labour wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, builded your railroads and cities, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth . . . Casting down your bucket among my people, helping and encouraging them as you are doing on these grounds, and to education of head, hand, and heart, you will find that they will buy your surplus land, make blossom the waste places in your fields, and run your factories. While doing this, you can be sure in the future, as in the past, that you and your families will be surrounded by the most patient, faithful, law-abiding, and unresentful people that the world has seen. As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing your children, watching by the sick-bed of your mothers and fathers, and often following them with tear-dimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you with a devotion that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defense of yours, interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.

There is no defense or security for any of us except in the highest intelligence and development of all. If anywhere there are efforts tending to curtail the fullest growth of the Negro, let these efforts be turned to stimulating, encouraging, and making him the most useful and intelligent citizen. Effort or means so invested will pay a thousand per cent interest. Effort or means will be twice blessed - "blessing him that gives and him that takes . . ."

Nearly sixteen millions of hands will aid you in pulling the load upward, or they will pull against you the load downward. We shall constitute one-third and more of the ignorance and crime of the South, or one-third of its intelligence and progress; we shall contribute one-third to the business and industrial prosperity of the South, or we shall prove a veritable body of death, stagnating, depressing, retarding every effort to advance the body politic . . .

The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we shall be prepared for the exercises of these privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera house.

. . . I pledge that in your effort to work out the great and intricate problem which God has laid at the doors of the South, you shall have it all times the patient, sympathetic help of my race . . .

RECOMMENDATIONS ON RACE RELATIONS

The Souls of Black Folks

W. E. B. DuBois, 1903

(Concepts: Assimilation and Assertion of Full Civil Rights)

. . . in the history of nearly all other races and peoples the doctrine preached . . . has been that manly self-respect is worth more than lands and houses, and that a people who voluntarily surrender such respect, or cease striving for it, are not worth civilizing.

In answer to this, it has been claimed that the Negro can survive only through submission. Mr. Washington distinctly asks that black people give up, at least for the present, three things, -

First, political power,
Second, insistence on civil rights,
Third, higher education of Negro youth, -

and concentrate all their energies on industrial education, the accumulation of wealth, and the conciliation of the South . . . As a result of this tender of the palm branch, what has been the return? In these years (since Booker T. Washington's Atlanta speech) there have occurred:

1. The disfranchisement of the Negro.
2. The legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority.
3. The steady withdrawal of aid from institutions for the higher training of the Negro.

These movements are not, to be sure, direct results of Mr. Washington's teachings; but his propaganda has, without a shadow of doubt, helped their speedier accomplishment . . .

(Negroes) do not expect that the free right to vote, to enjoy civil rights, and to be educated, will come in a moment; they do not expect to see the bias and prejudices of years disappear at the blast of a trumpet, but they are absolutely certain that the way for a people to gain their reasonable rights is not by voluntarily throwing them away and insisting that they do not want them, that the way for a people to gain respect is not by continually belittling and ridiculing themselves, that on the contrary, Negroes must insist continually, in season and out of season, that voting is necessary to proper manhood, that color discrimination is barbarism, and that black boys need education as well as white boys . . .

So far as Mr. Washington preaches Thrift, Patience, and Industrial Training for the masses, we must hold up his hands and strive with him . . . But so far as Mr. Washington apologizes for injustice, North or South, does not rightly value the privilege and duty of voting, belittles and emasculating effects of caste distinctions, and opposes the higher training and ambition of our brighter minds - . . . we must unceasingly and firmly oppose them. By every civilized and peaceful method we must strive for the rights which the world accords to men, clinging unwaveringly to those great words which the sons of the (Founding) Fathers would fain forget: "We hold these truths to be self evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Discussion Questions on "Atlanta Compromise"

Booker T. Washington, 1895:

1. What course of action does Booker T. Washington promote as the best way for Blacks to achieve prosperity in America?

2. Where does Booker T. Washington stand on the question of social equality for the Black? What conditions might cause him to take this stand? Do you think he presents a good defense for his view? Why or why not?

3. How does Booker T. Washington believe that racial harmony may be achieved in the South? As a Southern White, what would your reaction be to Washington's argument? Does he present a logical argument? How? What would your reaction be as a Southern Black?

Discussion Questions on The Souls of Black Folks

W. E. B. DuBois, 1903

1. According to DuBois, what values do both B. T. Washington and he agree upon as being worthwhile goals for Blacks?

   With what issues does DuBois oppose Washington's view? What are the most important values in life according to DuBois? As a Southern White, what would your reaction be to DuBois' goals for Blacks?

2. Why does DuBois believe that it is necessary for Blacks to have the right to vote? To gain a higher education? What evidence does he give to support his views? Do you think his conclusions are justified?

3. Why does DuBois believe that Washington's doctrine encourages discrimination and retards economic progress for the Black? Does DuBois present a logical argument? Do you think his conclusions are justified?

Comparison Questions

1. Which course of action do you believe would have been more effective, at the turn of the century in eliminating segregation and discrimination - that of Washington or that of DuBois?

2. Whose program would be more effective today? Why?

3. Could their programs be combined in any way?

13. "SHOOK"

By Marian Anderson

in

The Outnumbered, Dell, 1967 pp. 122-124.

(Concept: Overt Discrimination)

The following story was written by Marian Anderson, a Black woman who became a famous opera singer and the first Black person to become a member of the Metropolitan Opera Company. What factors could have accounted for her success? (Discuss these prior to reading the story.)

I sensed the need for a formal musical education when I was in my teens and was beginning to make my first modest tours. I decided, in fact, to see if I could not go to a music school. I did not know whether we could afford it, but I thought I ought to find out. Mother encouraged me, and so did other friends; but I had no idea where to turn until a person who had shown some interest in my problem suggested a school.

That music school no longer exists in Philadelphia, and its name does not matter. I went there one day at a time when enrollments were beginning, and I took my place in line. There was a young girl behind a cage who answered questions and gave out application blanks to be filled out. When my turn came, she looked past me and called on the person standing behind me. This went on until there was no one else in line. Then she spoke to me, and her voice was not friendly, "What do you want?"

I tried to ignore her manner and replied that I had come to make inquiries regarding an application for entry to the school.

She looked at me coldly and said, "We don't take colored."

I don't think I said a word. I just looked at this girl and was shocked that such words could come from one so young. If she had been old and sour-faced, I might not have been startled. I cannot say why her youth shocked me as much as her words. On second thought, I could not think of a person surrounded as she was with the job that is music without having some sense of its beauty and understanding rub off on her. I did not argue with her or ask to see her superior. It was as if a cold, horrifying hand had been laid on me. I turned and walked out.

It was my first contact with the blunt, brutal words, and this school of music was the last place I expected to hear them. True enough, my skin was different, but not my feelings.

It must be remembered that we grew up in a mixed neighborhood. White and Negro lived side by side and shared joys and sorrows. At school and on the street we found all kinds of children. Did we live in a poor neighborhood? Poor is relative. Some people owned their homes in that street and considered themselves well off. We had enough to eat, and we dressed decently. We were not so poor that we had nothing, and our neighbors were the same.

There were times when we heard our relatives and friends talking, and we knew we might come in contact with this, that, or the other thing. In some stores we might have to stand around longer than other people until we were waited on. There were times when we stood on a street corner, waiting for a trolley car, and the motorman would pass us by. There were places in town where all people could go, and there were others where some of us could not go. There were girls we played with and others we didn't. There were parties we went to, and some we didn't. We were interested in neither the places nor the people who did not want us.

I tried to put the thought of a music school out of my mind, for I could not help thinking of other music schools and wondering whether this would be their attitude too. I would not risk rejection again, and for some years the idea was not mentioned.

(From "Shook" by Marian Anderson in The Outnumbered, Dell, 1967, pp. 122-124.)

Discussion Questions on "Shook":

1. How did each of these help Marian Anderson achieve success? How? her family, her friends, her talent, her own determination, living in an integrated neighborhood, her family's income

2. Did any of these factors hinder her success? How? her race, discrimination in stores, etc., her experience at the music school

3. Why does Marian Anderson call this story "Shook"? Why was she shocked by the girl's age and appearance, by the outright prejudice? Had she ever experienced discrimination before? Why was the music school incident so much more painful?

4. Why do you think the girl spoke to Marian the way she did? Did she know Marian had no musical talent? Was the girl prejudiced? Was the girl cruel to Marian because the girl's own life was unhappy? (Was she scapegoating?)

5. How did this incident affect Marian? Why didn't she complain and raise a protest? What did this one incident do to Marian's desire to improve herself?

6. Why doesn't Marian expose the name of the school and the name of the girl who treated her badly? Is Marian a hateful person?

7. What would the best second title for this story be? Growing Up in Poverty, Music Schools are Expensive, Small Town Life, Music Makes People Human, Prejudice and Discrimination in Early Life.

14. RACIAL ISOLATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

It is a common notion held by many White Americans that racial desegregation is proceeding at a fairly rapid pace in many aspects of American life. Many find the words of the Kerner Commission (The Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders) hard to believe. That Commission report thesis stated,

> "Our Nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white-separate and unequal. Discrimination and segregation have long permeated American life; they now threaten the future of every American."

The Civil Rights Commission findings on racial isolation in the public schools were published by the United States Commission on Civil Rights. They vividly illustrate trends predicted by the Kerner Commission Report. Desegregation of public school systems is advocated in the section on remedies to racial isolation.

Many Whites and President Nixon as well believe that racial justice can be achieved without using busing as a means of achieving desegregation. Others believe that there will be no ending of racial isolation in the public schools unless children of different racial backgrounds are brought together in the schools. They believe that busing as a means to achieve integration should not be overlooked.

Racial Isolation in Public Schools

Quoted from FINDINGS of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Racial Isolation: Extent and Context

(Concept: Causes and Effects of Racial Isolation - *De Facto* Segregation)

Extent

1. Racial isolation in the public schools is intense throughout the United States. In the Nation's metropolitan areas, where two-thirds of both the Negro and White population now live, it is most severe. Seventy-five percent of the Negro elementary students in the Nation's cities are in schools with enrollments that are nearly all-Negro (90 percent or more Negro), while 83 percent of the White students are in nearly all-white schools. Nearly nine of every 10 Negro elementary students in the cities attend majority-Negro schools.

2. This high level of racial separation in city schools exists whether the city is large or small, whether the proportion of Negro enrollment is large or small, and whether the city is located North or South.

Trends

3. Racial isolation in the public schools has been increasing. Over recent years Negro elementary school enrollment in northern city school systems has increased, as have the number and proportion of Negro elementary students in majority-Negro and nearly all-Negro schools. Most of this increase has been absorbed in schools which are now more than 90 percent Negro, and almost the entire increase in schools which are now majority-Negro. There is evidence to suggest that once a school becomes almost half- or majority-Negro, it tends rapidly to become nearly all-Negro.

4. In Southern and border cities, although the proportion of Negroes in all-Negro schools has decreased since the 1954 Supreme Court decision in Brown v. Board of Education, a rising Negro enrollment, combined with only slight desegregation, has produced a substantial increase in the number of Negroes attending nearly all-Negro schools.

Population Movements in Metropolitan Areas

5. The Nation's metropolitan area populations are growing and are becoming increasingly separated by race. Between 1940 and 1960, the increase of Negroes in metropolitan areas occurred mainly in the central cities while the White increase occurred mainly in the suburbs. These trends are continuing.

6. The trends are reflected among school-age children.

    (a) By 1960, four of every five non-white school-age children in metropolitan areas lived in central cities while nearly three of every five white children lived in the suburbs.
    (b) Negro school children in metropolitan areas increasingly are attending central city schools and white children, suburban schools.
    (c) A substantial number of major cities have elementary school enrollments that are more than half-Negro.

Causes of Racial Isolation

Metropolitan Dimensions

1. The Nation's metropolitan area populations also are becoming increasingly separated socially and economically. There are widening disparities in income and educational level between families in the cities and families in the suburbs. People who live in the suburbs increasingly are more wealthy and better educated than people who live in the cities.

2. The increasing racial, social, and economic separation is reflected in the schools. School districts in metropolitan areas generally do not encompass both central city and suburban residents. Thus, central city and suburban school districts, like the cities and suburbs themselves, enclose separate racial, economic, and social groups.

3. Racial, social, and economic separation between city and suburb is attributable in large part to housing policies and practices of both private industry and government at all levels.

    (a) The practices of the private housing industry have been discriminatory and the housing produced in the suburbs generally has been at prices only the relatively affluent can afford.
    (b) Local governments in suburban areas share the responsibility for residential segregation. Residential segregation has been established through such means as racially restrictive zoning ordinances, racially restrictive covenants capable of judicial enforcement, administrative determinations on building permits, inspection standards and location of sewer and water facilities, and use of the power of eminent domain, suburban zoning, and land use requirements to keep Negroes from entering all-white communities.
    (c) Federal housing policy has contributed to racial segregation in metropolitan areas through past discriminatory practices. Present non-discrimination policies and laws are insufficient to counteract the effects of past policy.

(d) Laws and policies governing low- and moderate-income housing programs, including public housing, the FHA 221(d) (3) program, and the rent supplement program, serve to confine the poor and the non-white to the central city. Under each of these programs, suburban jurisdictions hold a special veto power.

4. Racial and economic isolation between city and suburban school systems is reinforced by disparities of wealth between cities and suburbs and the manner in which schools are financed.

   (a) Schools are financed by property tax levies which make education dependent on the wealth of the community.
   (b) Suburbs with increasing industry and increasing numbers of affluent people have a large tax base and are able to finance their schools with less effort.
   (c) Cities with shrinking industry, a disproportionate share of the poor, and increasing costs for non-educational services to both residents and non-residents, are less able to provide the required revenue for schools.
   (d) State educational aid for schools, though designed to equalize, often does not succeed in closing the gap between city and suburban school districts.
   (e) Federal aid at present levels in most instances is insufficient to close the gap between central city school districts and those of more affluent suburbs.
   (f) These disparities provide further inducement to many white families to leave the city.

Racial Isolation and the Central City

5. Within cities, as within metropolitan areas, there is a high degree of residential segregation--reflected in the schools--for which responsibility is shared by both the private housing industry and government.

   (a) The discriminatory practices of city landlords, lending institutions, and real estate brokers have contributed to the residential confinement of Negroes.
   (b) State and local governments have contributed to the pattern of increasing residential segregation through such past discriminatory practices as racial zoning ordinances and racially restrictive covenants capable of judicial enforcement. Current practices in such matters as the location of low-rent public housing projects, and the displacement of large numbers of low-income non-white families through local improvement programs also are intensifying residential segregation.
   (c) Federal housing programs and policies serve to intensify racial concentrations in cities. Federal policies governing low- and moderate income housing programs such as low-rent public housing and FHA 221(d)(3) do not promote the location of housing outside areas of intense racial concentration. Federal urban renewal policy is insufficiently concerned with the impact of relocation on racial concentrations within cities.

6. Individual choice contributes to the maintenance of residential segregation, although the impact of such choice is difficult to assess since the housing market has been restricted.

7. In all central cities, as compared to their suburbs, nonpublic schools absorb a disproportionately large segment of the white school population; non-whites, however, whether in city or suburbs, attend public schools almost exclusively.

Educational Policies and Practices

8. The policies and practices of city school systems have a marked impact on the racial composition of schools.

   (a) Geographical zoning, the most commonly used form of student assignment in northern cities, has contributed to the creation and maintenance of racially and socially homogeneous schools.
   (b) School authorities exercise broad discretion in determining school attendance areas, which in most communities are not prescribed by reference to well-defined neighborhoods or by specific guidelines based on the optimum size of schools.
   (c) In determining such discretionary matters as the location and size of schools, and the boundaries of attendance areas, the decisions of school officials may serve either to intensify or reduce racial concentrations. Although there have been only a few instances where purposeful segregation has been judically determined to exist in the North, apparently neutral decisions by school officials in these areas frequently have had the effect of reinforcing racial separation of students.
   (d) In Southern and border cities, similar decisions of school officials, combined with a high degree of residential racial concentration and remnants of legally compelled segregation, have had the effect of perpetuating racial isolation in the schools.

Racial Isolation and the Outcomes of Education

1. There are marked disparities in the outcomes of education for Negro and White Americans. Negro students typically do not achieve as well in school as White students. The longer they are in school the further they fall behind. Negroes are enrolled less often in college than Whites and are much more likely to attend high schools which send a relatively small proportion of the graduates to college. Negroes with college education are less likely than similarly educated Whites to be employed in white-collar trades. Negroes with college education earn less on the average than high-school educated Whites. These disparities result, in part, from factors that influence the achievement, aspirations, and attitudes of school children.

2. There is a strong relationship between the achievement and attitudes of a school child and the economic circumstances and educational background of his family. Relevant factors that contribute to this relationship include the material deprivation and inadequate health care that children from backgrounds of poverty often experience, the fact that disadvantaged children frequently have less facility in verbal and written communication--the chief vehicle by which schools measure student achievement--and the inability of parents in poor neighborhoods to become as involved in school affairs and affect school policy as much as more affluent parents.

3. The social class of a student's schoolmates--as measured by the economic circumstances and educational background of their families--also strongly

influences his achievement and attitudes. Regardless of his own family background, an individual student achieves better in schools where most of his fellow students are from advantaged backgrounds than in schools where most of his fellow students are from disadvantaged backgrounds. The relationship between a student's achievement and the social class composition of his school grows stronger as the student progresses through school.

4. Negro students are much more likely than White students to attend schools in which a majority of the students are disadvantaged. The social class composition of the schools is more important to the achievement and attitudes of Negro students than Whites.

5. There are noticeable differences in the quality of schools which Negroes attend and those which Whites attend. Negro students are less likely than Whites to attend schools that have well-stocked libraries. Negro students also are less likely to attend schools which offer advanced courses in subjects such as science and languages and are more likely to be in overcrowded schools than White students. There is some relationship between such disparities and the achievement of Negro students.

6. The quality of teaching has an important influence on the achievement of students, both advantaged and disadvantaged. Negro students are more likely than White students to have teachers who are dissatisfied with their school assignment.

7. The relationship between the quality of teaching and the achievement of Negro students generally is greater in majority-Negro schools than in majority-White schools. Negro students in majority-White schools with poorer teachers generally achieve better than similar Negro students in majority-Negro schools with better teachers.

8. There is also a relationship between the racial composition of schools and the achievement and attitudes of most Negro students, which exists when all other factors are taken into account.

   (a) Disadvantaged Negro students in school with a majority of equally disadvantaged White students achieve better than Negro students in school with a majority of equally disadvantaged Negro students.

   (b) Differences are even greater when disadvantaged Negro students in school with a majority of disadvantaged Negro students are compared with similarly disadvantaged Negro students in school with a majority of advantaged White students. The difference in achievement for 12th-grade students amounts to more than two entire grade levels.

   (c) Negroes in predominately Negro schools tend to have lower educational aspirations and more frequently express a sense of inability to influence their futures by their own choices than Negro students with similar backgrounds attending majority-White schools. Their fellow students are less likely to offer academic stimulation.

   (d) Predominately Negro schools generally are regarded by the community as inferior institutions. Negro students in such schools are sensitive to such views and often come to share them. Teachers and administrative staff frequently recognize or share the community's view and communicate it to the students. This stigma affects the achievement and attitudes of Negro students.

9. The effects of racial composition of schools are cumulative. The longer Negro students are in desegregated schools, the better is their academic achievement and their attitudes. Conversely, there is a growing deficit for Negroes who remain in racially isolated schools.

10. Racial isolation in school limits job opportunities for Negroes. In general, Negro adults who attend desegregated schools tend to have higher incomes and more often fill white-collar jobs than Negro adults who went to racially isolated schools.

11. Racial isolation is self-perpetuating. School attendance in racial isolation generates attitudes on the part of both Negroes and Whites which tend to alienate them from members of the other race. These attitudes are reflected in behavior. Negroes who attend majority-White schools are more likely to reside in interracial neighborhoods, to have children in majority-White schools, and to have White friends. Similarly, White persons who attend school with Negroes are more likely to live in an interracial neighborhoods, to have children who attend school with Negroes, and to have Negro friends.

Remedy

Compensatory Programs in Isolated Schools

1. Evaluations of programs of compensatory education conducted in schools that are isolated by race and social class suggest that these programs have not had lasting effects in improving the achievement of the students. The evidence indicates that Negro children attending desegregated schools that do not have compensatory education programs perform better than Negro children in racially isolated schools with such programs.

2. Compensatory education programs have been of limited effectiveness because they have attempted to solve problems that stem, in large part, from racial and social class isolation in schools which themselves are isolated by race and social class.

3. Large-scale increases in expenditures for remedial techniques, such as those used in preschool projects funded under the Head Start Program, which improve teaching and permit more attention to the individual needs of children, undoubtedly would be helpful to many students, although it is uncertain that they could overcome the problems of racial and social class isolation.

4. Compensatory education programs on the present scale are unlikely to improve significantly the achievement of Negro students isolated by race and social class.

Desegregation

5. Several small cities and suburban communities have desegregated their schools effectively. Although a variety of techniques have been used in these communities, a major part of each plan has been the enlargement of attendance areas. Desegregation generally has been accepted as successful by these communities.

6. Factors contributing to successful school desegregation include the exercise of strong leadership by State and local officials to help implement desegregation, the involvement of all schools in the community, the desegregation of classes within desegregated schools, steps to avoid the possibility of interracial friction, and the provision of remedial assistance to children who need it. The available evidence suggests that the academic achievement of White students in desegregated classrooms generally does not suffer by comparison with the achievement of such students in all-White classrooms. Steps have been taken in communities that have desegregated their schools successfully to maintain or

improve educational standards. There is also evidence that non-academic benefits accrue to White students who attend desegregated schools.

7. The techniques employed by large city school systems generally have not produced any substantial school desegregation.

   (a) Techniques such as open enrollment which do not involve the alteration of attendance areas have not produced significant school desegregation. The effectiveness of open enrollment is limited significantly by the availability of space in majority-White schools and the requirement in many cases that parents initiate transfer requests and pay transportation costs. Open enrollment also does not result in desegregation of majority-Negro schools.
   (b) Other techniques which do involve the alteration of attendance areas, such as school pairing, have not been successful in producing desegregation in large cities as in smaller cities.

8. The large proportion of Negro children in many central city school systems makes effective desegregation possible only with the cooperation of suburban school systems.

9. Programs involving urban-suburban cooperation in the desegregation of schools, while only beginning and presently very limited, show promise as techniques for desegregating the schools in the Nation's larger metropolitan areas.

10. In large cities, promising proposals have been developed which seek to desegregate schools by broadening attendance areas so that school populations will be more representative of the community as a whole and to improve the quality of education by providing additional resources and innovations in the educational program.

   (a) Proposals for educational facilities such as supplementary education centers and magnet schools, which contemplate a system of specialized school programs located either in existing schools or in new facilities, and education complexes, which would consist of clusters of existing schools reorganized to provide centralized services for school children in an enlarged attendance area, would contribute to improving the quality of education and would provide some progress in school desegregation.
   (b) Proposals for education parks, designed to improve the quality of education and desegregate the schools by providing new centralized school facilities serving a range of grade levels in a single campus, are most promising. Such parks could contribute to improving the quality of education by permitting advances and innovations in educational techniques not possible in smaller schools and could facilitate desegregation by enlarging attendance areas, in some cases to draw students both from the central city and the suburbs. Although legitimate concerns have been raised about the size and complexity of education parks, the new and flexible approaches to teaching and learning they would make possible could provide greater individual attention for each child's needs than is now possible in smaller schools. Additional problems relating to the cost and feasibility of education parks can be met in some measure by the economies which are made possible by the consolidation of resources in larger facilities. Although education parks would require a substantial new investment, it is within the range of what is feasible if the costs are shared by the Federal, State, and local governments.

Racial Isolation: The Role of the Law

1. Purposeful school segregation--violative of the Constitution--has occurred in Northern cities.

2. It remains an open question whether school segregation which is not imposed by purposeful action of school authorities violates the Constitution. The Supreme Court of the United States has not resolved the issue.

3. The courts consistently have upheld State or local action to eliminate or alleviate racial isolation in the public schools against the charge that it is unconstitutional to consider race in formulating school board policies. Only a few States have taken any action to require local school authorities to remedy racial isolation in their schools.

4. Congress has passed legislation aimed at eliminating racial discrimination in the assignment of children to public schools, but this legislation does not appear to dictate the application of sanctions not involving purposeful discrimination.

5. Congress has the power to enact legislation to remedy the inequality of educational opportunity to which Negro students are subjected by being assigned to racially isolated schools.

6. Congress, with its ability to appropriate funds, is the branch of Government best able to assure quality education and equal educational opportunity.

Reading Questions on Racial Isolation in the Public Schools

EXTENT

1. Is racial isolation in the public schools a severe problem?

   (Yes)

2. Is it a national problem or peculiar to certain parts of the country?

   (National)

TRENDS

3. Is the problem of racial isolation increasing or decreasing?

   (Increasing)

4. How are metropolitan areas affected?

   (Black central cities and White suburbs)

CAUSES

5. What are the causes of racial isolation?

   (Discrimination in jobs, housing, zoning, Federal policy, relocation of industry, etc.)

CENTRAL CITIES

6. What kinds of isolation based on race are to be found in the central city?

   (Real estate restrictions on residency, Federal policies, free choice in sale of property.)

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES AND PRACTICES

7. How do educational systems maintain racial isolation?

   (Geographical zoning, official exercise of discretionary powers, school size, etc.)

OUTCOMES OF RACIALLY ISOLATED EDUCATION

8. What are the outcomes or effects of racially isolated education?

   (Lowered Black achievement, alienation feelings between Whites and Blacks; racial isolation is self-perpetuating.)

Discussion Questions on Racial Isolation in Public Schools:

1. Is racial separation when based upon where a person resides, really racism?

2. Why do you think White families can move more readily to the suburbs than Blacks?

3. Suppose Ghetto schools get better teachers, better buildings, more supplies. Would you expect Black achievement to rise significantly? Under what conditions might compensatory education make changes?

4. You are a Justice on the U.S. Supreme Court and have to decide the issue of whether *de facto* segregation is unconstitutional. Legal segregation was declared unconstitutional in 1954. How would you decide the case? Should the Supreme Court be worried over the popularity or constitutionality, or both?

The U.S. Supreme Court has not yet decided the issue of *de facto* segregation in the public schools. Chief Justice Earl Warren surprised President Eisenhower, who appointed him, by declaring legal school segregation unconstitutional. Do you think that President Nixon's Supreme Court appointees, including Chief Justice Warren Burger, will declare *de facto* school segregation unconstitutional when they know President Nixon's stand against the use of school busing as a means to end racial segregation?

15. K.K.K. MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

(Concept: Identity Values and Racism)

Excerpts from

Application for Citizenship
in the
Invisible Empire

The Original Ku Klux Klan
(1920)

"I, the undersigned, a native born, true and loyal citizen of the United States of America, being a white male Gentile person of temperate habits, sound in mind and a believer in the tenets of the Christian religion, the maintenance of White Supremacy and the principles of a "pure Americanism" do most respectfully apply for membership..."

Discussion Questions on K.K.K. Membership Application

In order to become a member of the Ku Klux Klan, an applicant has to pass a certain self-examination of identity. In the 1920s 5 million Americans were enrolled members of the K.K.K.

1. What are the identity criterions linked to K.K.K. membership?

2. Who are excluded?

   Can you guess why?

3. What do the following phrases reflect?

   (a) true and loyal
   (b) temperate habits
   (c) White Supremacy
   (d) pure Americanism

4. Could a conscientious Christian favor White Supremacy if christianity teaches that all men are brothers?

5. What kinds of people do you think would be attracted to such an organization?

6. What threats do you think they feel?

   Many of the K.K.K. members were marginal to the economy and felt threatened by Black competition. Even marginal Whites felt that white skin gave them status no matter how poor they were.

7. When 5 million Americans out of approximately 100 million were members of the K.K.K. in the 1920's how many sympathizers do you think there were? Of what possible significance might that number be?

   There were many overt racists and probably many sympathizers. The K.K.K. also gained influence in the Democratic Party during this period.

16. SELECTED WHITE ATTITUDES TOWARD SOCIAL CHANGE

(Concepts: Resentment, Envy, Disappointment and Uncertainty)

Some White Americans have been disturbed by the gains made by certain members of minority groups in recent years. The rhetoric of minority groups calling for rapid social, economic, and political change upsets some Whites and creates feelings of insecurity.

These Whites who some have called the Forgotten Men, the Middle Americans, or the Silent Majority have feelings of resentment, envy, disappointment, and uncertainty. Their attitudes may condition the political goals of the Democrats and the Republicans.

Resentment ties to a perception of a loss of status and power to less well-off men (especially Black Americans). In his eyes certain out-groups (or minorities") seem to be sharply closing the social distance that previously had them "castes away."

Envy, associated with resentment, ties to the notion that the "power-grabbing" out-groups have potency and actual success in climbing the social ladder.

Disappointment draws on the notion that elements of government are not only not neutral, but have "gone over" to support the outgroup power-grabbers, and that all large organizations, whether government, labor, or business, "have it in for the little guy"--the plain citizen who is voiceless, powerless, and friendless.

Uncertainty ties to a commonplace historic preoccupation with political eccentricity and violence, that ours is a political record of innumerable splinter parties, riots, rebellions, and assassinations. Uncertainty of government stability is also a fear.

SELECTED WHITE ATTITUDES TOWARD SOCIAL CHANGE

Small Group/Large Group Discussions

1. Students should be formed into four small groups to examine each of the White case studies. The following questions should be answered by each group. (each group studies one case).

   a) What kinds of life experiences has the person had in terms of success and failures.

   b) What does the person resent?

   c) What does the person envy?

   d) Why is the person disappointed?

   e) What is uncertain in the person's view of the future?

2. After small group discussion of the above points, the group chairpersons will report to the entire class on their group's findings.

3. The teacher should ask the class as a whole:

   a) What similarities are there in their experiences?

   b) What differences are there?

   c) Why do you think that each case has the label it does?

      (1) Hard core

      (2) Quiet

      (3) Inactive

      (4) Unmotivated

4. Do you think that these cases can be generalized to stand for large numbers of people or are they simply peculiar responses?

5. How do you think these people feel about racial minorities and their aspirations?
   Why?

6. "Status anxiety" is a term often applied to these people who feel threatened.
   Why?

7. How do these people feel about "authority"?

8. How do these individuals compare with the so-called "Archie Bunker" bigot type?
   What is a bigot?

9. Some members of racial minority groups believe that if a person is White in America he has a built-in factor of success. These case studies illustrate that being White never guaranteed economic success but did guarantee caste status in the North and South in the past.

One of the ways Southern politicans manipulated the poor White electorate after Reconstruction, was to provide them with the illusion of higher caste status in relation to the Blacks. The idea was perpetuated that no matter how poor a White man was he was still supposed to be "better" than a Black man. The "dignity" of White caste color was ironically maintained even during World War II in the South were German or Italian prisoners of war could be served in White restaurants or use other White facilities that could not be used by the Black American soldiers guarding them. Today the "busing controversy" related to school integration in urban areas poses to some Whites the loss of White caste privilege based on housing patterns.

Students should be asked to explore differences between caste status and socio-economic class in connection with color. The book, An American Dilemma by Gunner Myrdal has some interesting observations on the ramifications of color caste in America. Black Like Me, the autobiographical account of a White man disguised as a Black man tells of his experiences traveling and working in the South. It provides numerous illustrations of caste as opposed to class differences between Whites and Blacks. The N.A.A.C.P. legal brief in Brown v. the Board of Education is filled with examples of how racial segregation has caste as well as class consequences. It spells out the pernicious effects of caste identification on Blacks.

SELECTED WHITE ATTITUDES TOWARDS SOCIAL CHANGE

Quoted from

Government and the "Forgotten Man"

The Report of the Task Force
on Law and Law Enforcement, 1968

(A staff report to the National Commission
on the causes and prevention of violence)

1. Hard Core

Mrs. Cahoon is a thirtyish lady who would be very attractive were it not for the fact that her lips are nearly always compressed in a thin line. She was alerted to the communist conspiracy by the way the Virginia Highway Department acted when they paved the road in front of her home in Roanoke. Mrs. Cahoon was born and raised in Iowa and moved to Virginia with her husband, a Marine sergeant she met at a dance sponsored by the Grange to raise money for a memorial to the town's Vietnam dead. When they built their home it was on a dirt road, and they liked it that way. But more people built nearby, and finally they petitioned the State to pave it, over the objections of the Cahoons and one or two others, who also didn't want high-speed traffic endangering their children.

When the paving project neared her home, a man appeared at her door to inform her that the arbor vitae hedge along the front of their lawn would have to be dug up and moved because it was in the State's right-of-way. He asked her to show him where she would like to have the bushes replanted by his men. Now Mrs. Cahoon knew that their property line extended to the center of the road, and she was damned if anybody was going to touch her arbor vitae. There was much showing of plans and explanation of highway easement, but Mrs. Cahoon would not be moved. Some days passed and a morning came when the highway district superintendent told his foreman to have the bushes dug up, taking care to keep plenty of soil around the roots, and place them gently on the Cahoon property outside the right-of-way. Mrs. Cahoon was washing dishes when she looked out the window and saw what they were doing and came out the door wildcat fashion. She scratched the foreman. He called the police. They told her about the law and she told them to go to hell. They took her to jail. The judge scolded her and put her under a peace bond, "after they had locked me up and this big fat woman with dirty fingernails (the jail matron) made me take off all my clothes and she poked me all over and I mean all over, I can't tell you any more than that, and the deputy said some dirty things to me you wouldn't believe. They treated me like a criminal, like I was a nigger." And the arbor vitae died.

Some years have passed since then and Mrs. Cahoon, who had had no previous experience with politics, has become involved in the Wallace movement. She is basically a shy person, but her new zeal is such that she finds herself able to knock on doors in neighborhoods where she knows Wallace people are not openly acceptable and pass out literature on the street. She is a little impatient with Wallace sometimes ("I wish he'd stop talking about running over one of those freaks and go ahead and do it") but she believes the movement will prevail. "We got 18 million votes, and we're going to win next time," she said. "The people are waking up. They're not going to stand for being pushed around by a lot of reds and fairies and niggers. We've seen what happens when the Federal Government sets up the niggers to run everything. In that riot in Washington the nigger police encouraging their 'soul brothers' (she says the word as though it had quotes around it) and the white police couldn't do nothing about it because the nigger mayor wouldn't let them. I know plenty of people who saw it, right out in the street."

She understands now why she was treated so badly in the squabble over the road. "If I was a police officer and had my hands tied so I couldn't arrest anybody even if I saw them rob a man and they get turned loose next day anyway, I'd feel mean too."

Mrs. Cahoon confidently expects to see the Russians take over this country if Wallace doesn't get in. "They have so many people paying niggers and college students to agitate and start riots it takes two whole floors of the U.N. building just to hold them," she said.

Against that day her husband has outfitted the house with semi-automatic surplus military arms and what appears to be about 10,000 rounds of ammunition. Her husband has taught her how to operate them, and she can field strip an M-1 carbine in the twinkling of an eye.

2. Quiet

Mrs. Moon is a 55-year-old mother of two children, one an attorney and the other a schoolteacher. Separated from her husband when the children were still infants, she went to work as a laborer in a New Jersey textile factory to support herself and her children. A second generation American of ethnic immigrant descent, she had been forced to quit school at the age of 16 to help support her own parents and 7 brothers and sisters during the depression, earning more than her father was making.

Still working in the textile factory, she has long been a member of a textile workers union. She has never crossed a strike line even though she describes her union leaders as corrupt and lazy. "They drive around in cadillacs while I work my hands to the bone. They're in cahoots with the bosses anyway. They get their payoffs for not starting any trouble and then they raise our dues." But Jimmy Hoffa was all right. "At least he got the men good wages."

Corruption doesn't anger her too much, however, for she realizes it is just part of a broader conspiracy. "It's the politicians who cause all the trouble. They ought to throw them all in jail."

One day in 1960 she read in the newspaper about a sit-in at a segregated southern restaurant, and that stunned her. She hadn't realized that Negroes in the south were treated that way. She liked John F. Kennedy, as she had liked Franklin D. Roosevelt, becasue he was for the "little people." The Republicans are just for the rich people." After his election, she had listened attentively to each of his television addresses as she had listened to Roosevelt's fireside chats. The assassination shocked and grieved her. A strong woman who had not cried for years, she wept bitterly.

She did not like Lyndon Johnson. Things were beginning to happen in the country that she could not understand and she expected the President to explain them to her. She tried to listen to his televised speeches, but they made no sense. "Just a lot of bull, if you'll excuse my language."

The riots distressed her, "What they ought to do is shoot them all. That will keep them off the streets." On top of that, her factory was hiring blacks that "don't know what they're doing." One black man in particular infuriated her. "He's with the NAACP, so they can't fire him or else they would be accused of 'discrimination' even though he doesn't do a damn bit of work. If I did what he does I'd be out on the street. The damn nigger. And the union is behind it all. What do they care. They get more dues to feed their faces."

The war on poverty did not make any sense to her. She made $15 dollars a week during the depression, worked hard all her life, put her children through college, and still managed to put some money aside for a rainy day. Now her children could take care of her in her old age and she could babysit for them. That was the way it was supposed to be. Her father never had to accept any welfare, even during the worst of the depression. "Nobody ever gave me anything. I worked for every penny I have. The problem is those damn niggers just don't want to work. They like being on welfare. All they do is spend it on liquor and color television anyway. They have babies just so they can get more welfare."

It was no surprise to her when the local newspaper uncovered a welfare scandal. "Those damn politicians are all crooks. They bring the colored people up from the south by promising them a lot of welfare. That's the way they get their votes and stay in office. I know. Everybody at the shop agrees."

She did not want to have anything to do with Goldwater because "if he got in, he'd get us into a war." War wasn't any good. "They just make a rich people richer. Rich people like wars. More business for them." One of her brothers and many of her friends had been killed during World War II and she did not want her son to go to Vietnam. She thought about it a lot, then went to see her state Senator, whose family had known her family from the "old neighborhood," to see what he could do. "The rich kids don't go to Vietnam. Their parents get them out of it. It's not what you know, it's who you know. Connections--that's everything. Let them niggers fight. They want to fight so much, ship them all to Vietnam. And all those college students who want to fight, taking over buildings and things. That will get them off the streets."

She did not get to see the Senator. "He's a busy man. But his secretary was nice. She took down all the information and said 'footsie,' that's what we used to call him in the neighborhood, would see what he could do." Neighborhood ties were never tested, however. Her son enlisted soon thereafter. "I guess it's better this way. The men have to fight. That's the way it always was, always will be."

She liked Robert Kennedy, though not as much as John. She would have voted for him had he not been assassinated.

After the convention, she turned to Wallace. "Humphrey's just a tool for Johnson. Nixon is still a Republican." She voiced her choice to her friends and relatives loudly. In the end, she voted for Nixon. "Wallace didn't have a chance. If I voted for him I would just be throwing my vote away. Nixon was the next best thing, even though he is a Republican."

She argues politics a lot with her children. Her son is a liberal, and although she can't understand how a bright boy like himself can be so stupid sometimes, he does raise points she hadn't thought about before.

But she cannot understand what he sees in the youth movement. "They ought to beat them over the head with their clubs. That's the way they did it when I was young. You never caught us talking filthy to policemen. Daley knew what he was doing."

But she has no great love for policemen either. "They're just like the rest of them. They're in on all the deals with the politicians. I see them, sitting and drinking coffee all day in diners. My house was robbed and they didn't know enough to take fingerprints. I showed them a greasy fingerprint and, you know, they never took it. The stupids!" She thinks they are mostly bullies, anyway. "John Valone is a cop. We went to grammar school together. He used to push the little kids around then, and he still does the same thing now. He hasn't changed a bit. Given them a badge and a club and all of a sudden they're big deals."

She liked Ted Kennedy, and Julian Bond is a "pretty nice young man," but somebody had better "damn well listen to Wallace. He's the only one who makes any sense."

3. Inactive

Wilson is a 48-year-old white native of West Virginia who except for service in Europe in World War II (Bronze Star and Purple Heart) has lived all his life within 20 miles of Charleston, W. Va. He is of Anglo-Saxon (early mountain pioneer) stock, and is a former coal miner and son and grandson of coal miners. Since the war he has worked as a carpenter because when he was discharged he discovered that the mine where he used to work had been bought and closed down by a large steel corporation (as part of a program to acquire reserves of coking coal for future needs). "The Government promised we'd get our old jobs back when we came home," he said. "I know for a fact they tried to keep veterans out of jobs so we'd have to go on the welfare. That way we'd have to do what the Government said or starve, because they'd cut a man off like that if he didn't do what he's told."

Wilson does not distinguish among local, State and Federal Government agencies and officials, feeling that they all "set their hand against the little man." The only difference among them, he said, "is they start off with a County office, and they learn how to steal. When they get pretty good they get a State job; and the ones that steal the best, they go to Washington." He says they steal better than half of what he makes every year--Wilson is a very good carpenter and gets steady work that brings in between $8000 and $10,000 a year--in indirect and direct taxes and "the way they keep prices high to soak up any loose money they might have missed.

"They" are not just Government officials but big business as well. Possessed of but a seventh-grade education, Wilson doesn't use terms such as "the military-industrial complex," but he talks of the Government "taking all our tax money and giving it to the big companies to spend on crazy things like rockets to the moon. They land one on the moon and find out it's made of dirt. So now they got to send a man up there with a shovel so he can bring a pail of it back. If they want dirt, I got a whole mountain of it in the back part of my place, and I wouldn't charge them nothing like they pay them rocket boys. I got to work all my life so they can take my money and throw it at the moon."

Wilson is a "lay minister" of an unaffiliated fundamentalist Protestant church (the "chief preacher" is self-ordained) and an effective public speaker. He has for some years been active in the Federal anti-poverty program, principally as a recruiter of young men who are unemployed or under-employed for the Job Corps or the local community action program. While he's at it, he manages "to slip in a word or two about the love of God," and has significantly increased the number of young man attending his church. He has no difficulty reconciling his enthusiasm for the poverty program with his distrust of all Government: "They just making suckers out of us, trying to keep the people quiet. But while the money's floating around we try to get a piece of it. It helps the youngsters some."

Wilson is pessimistic and cynical about the future of his country, believing that the Government is not of, for, or by the people and not likely to become so. His solution? "Revolution," he says, in a shockingly quiet and offhand way. "Them boys is dug in deep, and they ain't going to let go. We gonna have to drag a lot of them out and shoot them." It should be emphasized here that Wilson is a quiet, courteous, peaceful man, deeply religious, a more than ordinarily-devoted husband (his wife is a chronic invalid) and father of three children in their late teens who are all married and have moved to Chicago. He lives in a rambling, much-added-to cabin that he keeps in good repair. It is surrounded on all sides by lovingly-tended flowers which he has planted "because they are nice for the old woman to look out upon."

He believes his attitude towards Government is shared by most of his peers and thinks that the recent emphasis on firearms control is the Government's response to the revolutionary threat. "They're scared and they're trying to get our guns away." His attitude does not seem to have any tint of racism; his populism is pure and embraces those he calls without embarassment--or over emphasis--"our black brothers." He believes the FBI killed King and both Kennedys "because they were stirring people up."

4. Unmotivated

Cummings is a cop--that's the word he uses--and has been one for 30 years, first in Hampton, Va., and now in Norfolk. Although he is clearly of average or better intelligence, he has remained a patrolman because he cannot pass the written test upon which promotion partly depends. He has an unblemished service record and has been cited several times for outstanding performance, but put him at a desk with a pencil in his hand and he freezes up--sweats up, rather--and forgets "every damn thing I ever knew." Once they gave him the test orally and he gave every answer correctly, but the requirement that he write an essay on some aspect of police work could not be waived. "I like working the street anyway," he says.

He can't work the street any more. The department had to pull him off because he cannot cope with the investigation and arrest procedures required by Supreme Court rulings over the past several years. "I've spent all my life learning how to be a cop," he says. "If they'd told me I was going to have to be a judge and lawyer too, I'd have been a mechanic like my ol' Daddy." The guidelines set down in Escobedo, Miranda, etc., may not seem very complicated. But Cummings, like many law enforcement officers, finds them strange and intimidating. "You know," his sergeant said, "it's a funny thing, but he didn't have any trouble until we had a seminar to explain some of the new rules. They aren't very different from old department policies anyway, but Cummings went right out and blew one of our biggest vice busts (arrests) in years. We told him to take one of the guys in and book him and he takes the guy to his (the defendant's) girl friend's house and keeps him there for half the night, trying to squeeze information out of him and looking for narcotics."

"The Supreme Court says once we take a suspect in we can't talk to him, so I figured I'd take him somewhere else and talk to him first," Cummings said. He wasn't officially reprimanded, but after ruining or complicating several succeeding cases, he was assigned to station duty. Which means paperwork. Which he says he can't do. He's going to retire, and he's bitter.

"Police work used to be something a man could be proud to do," he says. "Now cop is a dirty name. You give a nigro (he seems to be halfway between "nigra" and "Negro," pronunciation-wise) a parking ticket and he falls down on the sidewalk and starts hollerin' police brutality, and they have a riot. You see a guy snatch a purse and you got to recite the Declaration of Independence at him while you're chasing him. You can't shoot him so you got to hope he'll start laughing and lose his wind. And then if you catch him he'll jump up and down and say, 'I'm guilty! I'm guilty!' and that means you got to let him go if he confesses before you can get a gag on him. You pull a guy in for stealing a quarter and the City gives him a hundred dollar lawyer to convince the judge to let him go. Pretty soon it'll be a Federal offense to arrest a murderer."

Cummings can and will go on in this vein for hours, but somehow it isn't convincing. It seems likely that Cummings has not been able to adjust to other facets of his work that have changed in recent years. The department has a substantial race relations program going, and conducts workshops designed to alert the men to their delicate role in society. It is a far cry from the "run 'em off or run 'em in" days, and Cummings does not seem to be a man who is given to introspection and situation ethics. He's not interested in trying to see himself through a black man's eyes the better to understand how to avoid a confrontation. Cummings thinks people who go around confronting cops ought to go to jail for disturbing his peace.

17. WHITE IDENTITY: THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RACISM

(Concept: White Positive Self-Image and Feelings of Superiority)

White identity in America may be based on a psychological perspective which subordinates individuals on the basis of color. Political action of significance in the improvement of non-White social and economic opportunities may be hampered by an unexamined set of mental attitudes which are essentially racist. It is important to develop student awareness of who they are and what psychological benefits Whites may get from racial subordination of non-Whites. Also, they need to examine the subtle yet all pervasive ideas of superior White identity which are transmitted in imperceptible ways by the dominant White majority culture.

WHITE SOCIETY: THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RACISM

Quoted from

THE 'RIGHTNESS OF WHITENESS'
By Abraham F. Citron

"The White majority America is achieving some understanding of the degradation heaped for generations upon Negroes through the institutions of slavery and of a caste society, with resultant stifling of Negro potential.

However, Whites in general have as yet little understanding of what the discrimination and segregation of caste have done and are doing to them.

The essential problem is not bigots who need to hate, but masses of Whites whose minds have been formed in a racist society, padded in illusory concepts, and equipped with a set of unreal presuppositions in a make-believe world.

How are minds formed to operate in a White world?

I. THE BUILDING OF THE SELF IN WHITELAND

A. The White Child's World is White

The White child in a White milleu, with no essential break in patterns or attitudes in the home, builds into his personality a feeling of the rightness of whiteness. All major sources of his impressions reinforce each other and lead him to feel that whiteness, the way he is, is natural and standard.

White children in our white-dominate society, come early to feel that their skin color is the same kind of mark of the kind of beings they are as are their hands, feet, eyes, and ears, etc. When they grow enough to apprehend that they are children, they accept unthinkingly that their color is just as normal, proper and right as the rest of them. They feel that their color is the way all children should be. They feel it is right, and that other skin colors, if and when they encounter them, are off-standard deviations.

Reared in a culture in which racial ideology is deeply embedded, white children learn that skin color is salient, and the white children learn that light skin colors are accepted and associated with good and honored things while darker skin colors are rejected and associated with bad, inferior, and fearful things.

The signs, language, rewards and punishments, behaviors of referent adults, peer group norms and behavior, all tell the white child that the people who matter are his color. Children note that white persons almost always hold the positions of respect and authority in the society.

In a white section of the city, in suburbia, or in the countryside (other than the South), all people except some domestic workers and lawn service workers are white.

As the white child grows, he gradually assumes an unconscious feeling of white dominance. He orients himself in a white-centric world. The white self is felt as the human norm, the right, against which all persons of other color may be judged. A white boy in a segregated society thinks of himself as representative of the universe of boys. He feels that the way he is is the essence of boyness; when he thinks of the idea of boy he thinks of beings like himself. Girls make the same unconscious and conscious assumptions about themselves.

The effectiveness of this process of self fashioning lies in its simple absortion of what is. No child questions the syables referring to his or her parents. No child analyzes or questions the air it breathes. In a white-padded cocoon the white child grows into an acceptance of predominance of whiteness just as he grows into identification and acceptance of himself.

The basis is laid in the sense of identity and self for the emergences of feelings of superiority because of color.

B. Feelings of White Superiority

Mary Ellen Goodman painstakingly elicited concepts and feelings on race of 103 four-year-olds. Of the 46 white children she writes:

> "...they share a freedom from the shadow cast by color. They belong to the 'right' race, if not to the right religion or national background. They are looking down at the people under the shadow of color." (1)

also:

> "White children ask (about Negroes) "Why are they colored?' 'Is she sunburned?' 'Can she change?' The questions are uniform in one respect: These white children do not ask about themselves--why their own color, or lack of it. They take it completely for granted in the fashion of the 'primitive' tribesmen, that they are 'the people.' The others, those under the shadow of color, 'they're different,' as Paul put it. Being different, they are, as Diane says, 'strangers.'"

C. Feelings of Rejection of Darker Skin Colors

Kenneth Clark notes that the child adopts the attitudes of his milieu:

> "When white children in urban and rural sections of Georgia and urban areas in Tennessee were compared with children attending an all-white school in New York City, their basic attitudes were found to be the same. Students of the problem now generally accept the view that the children's attitudes toward Negroes are determined chiefly not by contact with Negroes but by contacts with the prevailing attitudes toward Negroes. It is not the Negro child, but the idea of the Negro child, that influences children." (2)

Over half of the white children Goodman and her staff examined through doll play, picture identification and other means, over a period of months, clearly indicate they have already achieved (as the racist institutions intend that they achieve) an emotional rejection of Negroes. There are many examples. (These children are four years old):

> "Joan says: 'black people I hate 'em.' Stefan says he'd rather play with a white man than with a brown boy (in the picture) 'because he's white.' Later he says 'All I like is the white girl (in the picture). 'Not the black one, the white one.'"
>
> "Norman says of a picture of a Negro boy: 'He's a freshie.' 'Look at his face I don't like that kind of face.' The face in question is hardly to be seen, and what does show looks quite an unremarkable medium brown. Vivien says the white lady is better than the colored lady' in the picture. Billy looks at two pictured men (both ordinary and unremarkable) and says 'A good man - and a black one.' Peter assures us proudly: 'There are no black people at my house.'" (3)

Marian Radke and Helen Trager used doll houses, dolls and picture techniques to elicit children's perceptions of the social roles of Negroes and Whites. They worked with 242 kindergarten, first and second graders of the Philadelphia school. Ninety of their children were Negro; 152 were white. They concluded:

1. 38% of the white children gave interpretations in which stereotyped and inferior social roles were ascribed to Negroes.

2. 14% of the white children gave the Negro doll specific low status roles; 24% gave work roles to the Negro doll and leisure roles to the white doll.

3. The great majority of children (both Negro and White) gave the poorer house to the Negro doll and the better house to the White doll. Verbalizations indicated that they "belonged" there.

4. The children were responding in terms of general cultural sterotypes and prejudices.

5. The white doll was preferred by 89% of the white children. Their reasons indicate self-identification with the whiteness of the doll and rejection of Negroes.

6. Inferior roles are ascribed more frequently to Negroes by white children who express hostile attitudes toward Negroes. (4)

As the child grows he encounters, at various social distances, Negroes and others of different skin colors. There are many accounts of the naivete and floundering of segregated children in their efforts to understand the fact of skin color difference. The ghettoized white child sees Negroes in special locations, in limited economic and social roles; he sees them in sports, in show business, in limited ways on TV; and sees them close up in various special roles, usually not on a level of equality with his parents and his group. Many ghettoized white children know Negroes mainly as domestic servants.

II. THE GROWING MIND IN A WHITE WORLD

A. The White World of the Bible and Religion

The child accepts and imbibes what is presented by the culture. In a White-dominant culture, the symbols of religious respect, reverence and love are white. The fact that they are unthinkingly, "naturally" so makes them more effective as influences on the formation of attitudes and unquestioned assumptions of children.

Adam and Eve were white; white children see this in the Bible story pictures and feel that God created mankind as white men. Children are told that man was created in the image of God.

A child's world of Bible stories, often with impressive pictures, is a segregated world. The child sees Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden; sees the pictures of David and Goliath; of Joseph and his brethern; Moses and Pharoah; Noah and the Ark; the flood and the white dove; Joshua and the Battle of Jericho; Jonah and the whale; Daniel and the lion's den, and many more.

The lesson is unintentionally but effectively taught, that the important people of the Bible are white, and that God is concerned with white people. The effectiveness of the impression lies precisely in its constant unconscious presentation.

For White Christian children the central figure of their faith is pictured as a white man. Jesus is a loving father figure to countless children brought up in the Christian faith. He is seen by white Christians as white; as a man who, in earthly form, served, taught, suffered and died in a white environment. The Holy Family is a white family; the Apostles are white.

To a white child (and many adults) Heaven is white, angels and angels' wings are white; there are cherubs with happy pink faces. The great white throne of God and the chorus of angels rests upon, and is surrounded by, masses of the purest, billowy white clouds.

In a white-dominant culture purity is white; to cleanse away sin, the soul is washed white as snow. Sin and evil are black.

Although Satan is white, he is a fallen angel, and he has a black heart. White in white culture is a powerful symbol of the rightness of things, of purity, cleanliness, goodness, sweetness, of safety and beauty. White is light as well as right. To a child the dark night is likely to be felt as fearful and dangerous. Black is dirt, unclean, impurity, threatening and unpleasant. "The good guys wear white hats."

B. Santa Claus and the Dolls

Santa Claus is a symbol to Christian children of the benevolence of the Christmas season; and every child knows that Santa is a jolly, fat, white man, with twinkling blue eyes and a snow-white beard, who lives in a white snowland of the North, and he says "ho, ho, ho" endlessly over the radio and on TV at Christmas time. All his elves are white, too.

The dolls Santa brings to little white girls are white (almost always) and they look alike, reflecting the standard of beauty and attractiveness of the dominant white culture.

C. The World of Fantasy and Adventure

The white child's world of fantasy and fairies is a white world. Alice is white in a white Wonderland. A main symbol is the white rabbit, hurrying in a thoroughly white, middle-class way, to keep a nameless Kafkaczque appointment and feeling dread lest he be late.

The world of nursery rhymes is a white world. From Old Mother Hubbard, Mary and her lanb, Little Miss Muffet through Tom, Tom, the Piper's Son, The Little Old Man All Clad in Leather, all is a white world. Snow White is, of course, white, as are the dwarfs and the rescuing prince. Make no mistake, Little Boy Blue is white. All Fairyland is white, as is, despite its gaudy colors and odd shapes, the Land of Oz. Dorothy and the Wizard, Glinda the Good, the Shaggy Man, etc., are white. Jack of the Beanstalk is white and his giant, too. Cinderella is white as is her wondrous fairy godmother, and again the Prince. White children feel that all princes are white and that they should ride beautiful white horses.

For the white child the world of heroes is white. The greatly admired virtues of intrepidity and physical bravery are felt to be white virtues. The great panoply of heroes, warrior kinds, knights, and fighting men is a roster of Caucasians: Prometheus, Leonides, Hercules, Archilles, Ulysses, Samson, Alexander the Great, Horatius, Beowolf, Siegfried, King Arthur, Lancelot, Charlemange, Roland, William Tell, Robin Hood, and so on in a lengthy list, down to modern times.

Models for the girls follow the same dominant pattern.

The make-believe world of the American Wild West has a hold on the imagination of youth as well as adults. In this world of Billy the Kid, Jesse James, covered wagons, cattle empires, straight shooting sheriffs, we deal with the white man's fantasy world in which white men are dominant, white values supreme. Indians, Mexicans, Orientals, and Negroes enter the script in supporting roles.

D. The World of Knowledge

If the white youth is interested in science, medicine, literature, discovery, history, conquest, invention, space, religion, nature, animals, photography, stamps, or any subject whatever, he is quite likely to read or hear about what white men have felt, thought and done. World history and the history of the United States has, up to the present decade, been presented to white children through the writings of white-minded men in and for a white-dominated culture.

E. Conclusion

Only in modern sports and in the entertainment world is the all-white pattern broken with any impact on children and youth in our caste society.

Nancy Larrick, former president of the International Reading Association and authority on children's books, says:

> "...most of the books children see are all white...There is no need to elaborate on the damage--much of it irreparable to the Negro child's personality. But the impact of all-white books on white children is even worse. Although his white skin makes him one of the world's minorities, the white child learns from his books that he is kingfish. There seems little chance of developing the humility so urgently needed for world cooperation, instead of a world of conflict, as long as our children are brought up on gentle doses of racism through their books." (5)

III. THE NEGRO AS SYMBOL

White children are exposed to the racist ideas about Negroes carried by the culture.

(Available to some children are familial or other group influences which effectively counter racial ideology through example, contact, reading, visual materials, and other means. But these children are relatively few.)

In many if not most white children an emotional deposit of strangeness, inferiority, rejection, and fear concerning Blacks (6) is laid long before there is "rational" content to support it.

If a group of Whites are gathered for any purpose and a White walks in, it is perceived that a person has entered. (Sex, age, dress and other items of categorization may be noted.) If, however, the individual entering is of dark pigmentation, then perception will be more complex; first, fundamentally of a Negro, and then of other characteristics (man, woman, child) pertinent to purposes of the individual. Negroes are seen by Whites as members of an out-group.

The emotional saliency of Negroidness to the vast majority of Whites is well known. It is this emotionality about blacks that children so quickly sense. In addition to common over-generalization, stereotypic thinking, selectivity of perception and memory, there has occurred and continues considerable projection and symbolization in the way Whites see and react to Negroes.

A. Emotionalism

In a national survey of attitudes of Whites toward Negroes conducted by William Brink and Louis Harris for Newsweek in 1963, the authors state:

> "When the white man in America looks at the Negro he is torn by a conflict between his emotions and his intellect. His intellect tells him that the Negro has indeed suffered years of discrimination, directly contridicting the American Creed of equality for all. But his emotions make him feel uneasy at the prospect of such equality for the Negro.
>
> "In the course of the interviews lasting over two hours each, some more than three, Whites were asked how they felt about contact with Negroes and why. The question released a stream of uninhibited feeling about Negroes. The violent emotionalism of many comments is striking:
>
> Comment (South) "They stink. In cafeterias here you go around and collect your food. The Niggers paw over your food and then you have to give them a tip to carry your tray. Big old dirty black paws pawing your food, then you got to eat it."
>
> Comment (North) "I never forgot that. (His son shaking hands with a Negro.) It's the idea of rubbing up against them. It won't rub off but it don't feel right either."
>
> Comment (North) "I feel as though I can't trust them. I think they'll start a fight. I might pick up some kind of disease..." (7)

B. White Stereotypes about Blacks

In the Brink-Harris survey, ten stereotypes about Negroes were set before white people, who were asked which statements they agreed with and which they rejected. The table on page 10 reports the results from the nationwide cross-section, from the South, and from a special group of those who had had social contact with Negroes. The last group, 25 percent of the total, proved throughout the survey to be the most sympathetic to the Negro cause.

C. The Negro as Sexual Symbol

Gordon Allport notes in The Nature of Prejudice that "in America we have in the Negro a preferred target for our sexual complexes." He states

> "There is a subtle psychological reason why Negroid characteristics favor an association of ideas with sex. The Negro seems dark, mysterious, distant, yet at the same time, warm, human and potentially accessible. Sex is forbidden; colored people are forbidden, the ideas begin to fuse. It is no accident that prejudiced people call tolerant people 'nigger lovers.' The very choice of the word suggests that they are fighting the feeling of attraction themselves.
>
> "The fact that interracial sex attraction exists is proved by the millions of mixed breeds in the country...The attraction is further enhanced by the fact (or legend) that Negroes have an open and unashamed way of looking at life. Many people with supressed sex lives would like the same freedom. They grow jealous and irritated at the openness and directness of sex life among others. They accuse the males of extreme sexual potency and the female of shamelessness. Even the size of the genitalia becomes a subject of jealous exaggeration. Fantasies easily get mixed with fact..."

Allport quotes Helen McLean as follows on this point:

> "In calling the Negro a child of nature, simple, lovable, without ambition, a person who gives way to his every impulse, white men have made a symbol which gives a secret gratification to those who are inhibited and crippled in their instinctual satisfactions. Indeed, white men are very loath to relinquish such a symbol." (8)

"WHITE STEREOTYPES ABOUT NEGROES"

Statement	Percent Agreeing		
	Nationwide	South	Previous Social Contact
Negroes laugh a lot	63	81	79
Negroes tend to have less ambition	66	81	56
Negroes smell different	60	78	50
Negroes have looser morals	55	80	39
Negroes keep untidy homes	48	57	31
Negroes want to live off the handout	41	61	26
Negroes have less intelligence	39	60	23
Negroes breed crime	35	48	21
Negroes are inferior to whites	31	51	15
Negroes care less for the family	31	49	22

"WHITE FEELING ABOUT CONTACT WITH NEGROES"

Would object to:	Percent Nationwide	 South	 Previous Social Contact
Working next to a Negro on a job	17	31	8
Sitting next to a Negro at a lunch counter	20	50	4
Sitting next to a Negro on a bus	20	47	5
Sitting next to a Negro in a movie theater	23	64	6
Own children going to school with Negroes	23	55	9
Using same rest rooms as Negroes	24	56	9
Trying on same suit or dress that Negro had tried on in clothing store	32	57	16
Own child brings Negro friend for supper	41	76	16
Negro family as next door neighbors	51	74	28
Close friend or relative marrying a Negro	84	91	70
Own teen-age daughter dating a Negro	90	97	80

. . . .

Table from Brink & Harris(7)

Allport indicates some of the dynamics of white male and female attitudes toward Negroes based on sexual feelings. He says of the reactions common to white men:

> "Suppose the white male is anxious concerning his own sexual inadequacy and attractiveness. One study of adult prisoners discovered a close relationship between this condition and high prejudice. Men who were antagonistic toward minority groups, on the whole, showed more fierce protest against their own sexual passivity, semi-impotence, or homosexual trends. The protest took the form of exaggerated toughness and hostility. These individuals committed more crimes of sexual nature than did those who were sexually more secure. And the pseudomasculinity of the former group made them more hostile toward minorities.
>
> "Again, a male who is dissatisfied with his own marriage may grow envious when he hears rumors of Negro sexual prowness and license. He may also resent and fear the approach Negroes might make to white women who are potentially his." (9)

There is revulsion, rage, guilt, fear and suspected attraction in the emotion-laden question often raised in race relations discussions: Would you like your daughter (sister) to marry one?

A Black psychoanalyst, writing on the blockages to transference processes requisite to successful therapy, blockages which occur when patients are white and therapist is a Black, says:

> "The meaning of 'Negro' (Black), in a magic, symbolic sense, usually associated with 'evil,' 'badness,' 'inferiority,' may constitute an image which can be interjected into the patient's ego only with great difficulty. 'Negro' may equal 'Devil.' On the other hand, it may equal 'Eros'--blind, emotional abandon--and, therefore an image which some patients may accept more easily." (10)

The myths of the American quasi-caste system about Negroes--that they are primitive, emotional, musical, carefree, irresponsible, criminal, etc.--are carried by the folkways to children and youth. What is actually first conveyed is a feeling of rejection and revulsion. Many white children are early conditioned to the culturally standard shudder-reaction toward Negroes. As they mature, adults, peers, and the milieu fill them in on the myth-content.

White children, watching TV, are likely to feel, just as many adults, that Negroes are apt to appear in connection with some type of violence. Mass media, especially the pictorial content of the media, emphasize tensions, conflict and violent aspects of the interaction of Negroes and Whites in the contemporary scene. Further, the media are more likely to catch and identify as conflict and violence those actions in which Negroes attempt to oppose or change the system than they are to catch and reflect the repressive actions of the dominant group to maintain the system. This is because White dominance is pervasive, taken for granted, with low visibility, built into the normal flow of institutional and bureaucratic systems, therefore usually accomplished with non-violence, backed, however, with great institutional power and force; while Black objection, insistence and militancy is new, identifiable, visible, abnormal, shocking, and fearful, thus newsworthy.

IV. CHILDREN SENSE THE DEEP ATTITUDES

In homes of some gentility crude emotions and stereotypes concerning Negroes are out of countenance, but through countless clues the patterns of rejection and avoidance are well taught to children.

Gilbert Gross, son of a Christian minister who was active in civil rights causes, notes that no Negro ever sat at their table and the children knew "without ever one word said about it" that only the most casual relationships on their part with Negroes were acceptable.(11)

There is evidence that unless the home environment is especially effective in countering impressions from the milieu, or unless reality teaching and counter-stereotyping of the home is reinforced by positive experience with Negro children, or with peer groups which have positive attitudes, the child will make his own the attitudes of his general environment.

A graduate student who is a minister reported to me (April, 1967) the essence of his conversation with his 13-year-old son as they drove home from one of a series of dialogue meetings with Negro adults and youth:

Father: "What did you think of the program?"
Son: "It sure opened my eyes."
Father: "How do you mean?"
Son: "Well, I've felt that Negroes were just no good. But now that I've met these kids, I've changed my mind."
Father: "Where did you get the idea that Negroes were no good?"
Son: "Just about everywhere. My friends think so. Most everybody thinks so. It's just the way people feel. I just know that I felt that way."

Counter-elements of the culture (economic, political, religious, moral, scientific, scholastic) are cutting int these myths, and are now aided by the active forces of Black self-determiniation and Black Power, but the traditional supports of a racist system are deep-rooted. Since the middle class White culture also requires gentility, politeness, restraint, and dissimulation, basic emotions about Negroes threatening to the self-image or to acceptance in the eyes of others are often repressed. But they remain dynamic in the personality and indicate their presence in rationalizations, maintenance of social distance, resentment, anger, guilt, anxieties and over-defense.

Gilbert Gross, quoted above, cannot understand why he must go through life carrying an irrational fear of Negroes. He says: "Why am I so condescending? Why so frightened? Why so angry when a Negro touches my life?"

Children sense the deep attitudes, spoken and silent, the real feelings. They see who is honored and who dishonored. They hear tone and intonation, catch nuance and meaning of behavior; sense and adopt attitudes which adults may be unaware they (the adults) carry, or unaware they transfer to children.

Some of the four-year-olds examined by Mary Ellen Goodman (cited above) had learned feelings of rejection such as the following:

> "During these visits (with us) we learned that four-year-olds see and hear and sense much more about race than one would suppose after watching them at school or even at home....Hostility and rejection appear rather seldom in 'real life' and very often in the testing room. Paul reacts to the brown doll with, 'Bad girl--I hit her.' Ronald is more vehement: 'I don't like dat boy (Negro in picture). He stinks. I don't like Juny (Negro schoolmate). She's a smelly girl. She hits me.' When we show the picture of a Negro man and woman, he is through for the day. He grimaces at the picture and turns his face away. 'I don't want any more,' he says, and departs. Carl, referring to the same picture, says, 'I don't like this man and the lady neither.' Joseph is moved to ideas of violence. 'I don't like that man (Negro). I make an axe. I bang his head off.' Roland says, 'I don't like little black boys--nor my mother neither.' Patsy says, 'I hate them that way--I hate black' David says, 'He's black, he's a stinky little boy, he's a stinker...'"

Eleven out of the 46 four-year-old white children with whom Mrs. Goodman was working talked in these terms. About one half of the 46 expressed definite feelings of rejection of Negroes.

The fears many Whites carry are stereotypic, mythological, symbolic, projective, mixed with elements of reality, fanned by publicity of riots, violence, crime and fed by selective perception.

Through the fears of parents, adults, older children and peers, many children learn to be afraid of Negroes long before they ever have an opportunity to have any meaningful contact with them.

It should by no means be overlooked that attitudes toward Negroes are channeled by aspects of contemporary reality even if these aspects are selectively distinguished and especially weighted.

Uprisings in major cities involving incendiarism, looting, and violence, perceived by many whites as riots against property, law and order, have been an important source of rejective attitudes of Whites toward Negroes.

Crimes of Negroes have been increasingly highlighted as realistic cause for negative attitudes toward all Negroes. "Crime in the streets" has become a major political issue.

Dr. Alvin Rose, (a Negro) Professor of Sociology at Wayne State University, addressing a Northeast Detroit Project Commitment audience of the Catholic Archdiocese, recently received the following as one of a number of written questions: "Can't you understand? We don't run from dislike. We are literally frightened to death of you."

V. THE CONCEPTS AND LANGUAGE OF DOMINANCE

Centuries of white imperialism over darker peoples, over three hundred years of the institution of slavery in this country, and a quasi-caste system since the days of Reconstruction, have produced concepts and language forms fitting the needs of the dominant group. These forms play their part in forming the habits of thought of children. There has been generated a mythology of racism, with its stereotypes of primitiveness, amorality and dangerousness.

Among the racist language forms created to sustain white dominance are constrast-terms referring to skin color. Racism assimulates objective color terms and transforms them into terms of contrast, of super-ordination and subordination. In racist language there are no degrees, one is either "black" or "white." Further, racism invests skin color with an enormous and completely irrational salience in our culture.

If one observes with an eye for color the various hues of lighter-skinned peoples, one sees that these cover quite a range and are clearly not white. Instead of white, the lighter-skinned people could much more accurately be called the "olive-pink-yellow-beige-tan-maroon-grey-browns," or some such.

But the child is forced by the language forms to adopt the ultimate contrast: the Blacks vs. the Whites.

The term "Black" referring to darker skinned groups of African background, formerly derogatory in common folkways, now is being given new meaning and currency. If one uses "colored" he is reduced to nonesense, for all human groups are colored. Further, this term dates from an era of genteel manners when parliance required a term not so crude as "nigger" and not to dignified and formal as "Negro." Just as "black" and "white" emphasize color differences, so does "colored" as a reference term. The best our language will now do is Negro or Black or Afro-American; and Caucasian or White or clumsy circumlocutions. The term 'race' has been so long misused by ideological movements, propagandists, and racists that it should be avoided by those seeking clarity and objective communication.

The colloquialisms of dominance contain many saying such as "free, white, and twenty-one," nigger in the woodpile," work like a nigger," and such terms as "coon," "shine," and darky" to refer to Negro men as "boys." One presently hears in bigoted White groups the term "animals" referring to Blacks. There is also a large stock of jokes, stories, anecdotes depending for their humor on feeding feelings of White dominance.

There is a large vocabulary, ranging from genteel to coarse to vulgar, expressing racial difference and derogation. These language patterns constitute powerful directives of the ways members of the majority group think about and communicate concerning Blacks. Language forms used by Blacks to express derogation, contempt, and social distance from Whites are also common.

VI. DISTORTED PERCEPTION OF REALITY

White-centeredness is not the reality of the modern world, but the ghettoized white child is under the illusion that it is. It is thus impossible for him to deal naturally or adequately with the universe of human and social relationships. He learns through selective perception to see, in a white world, what promotes or threatens his ego plans and ego investments, and to (a) react selectively to the stimuli offered, and (b) search out needed stimuli. He learns salience, that is, what portions of his environment are important to him and to which he must react. He learns in his white world the importance of reacting in certain ways to skin color.

It was one of the conclusions of the group of social scientists who signed the "Appendix to Appelants' Briefs" in Brown vs. Board of Education, 1954, that for both majority and minority groups "segregation imposes upon individuals a distorted sense of social reality."

Children who develop this pattern learn dependence on a psychological and moral crutch which inhibits and deforms the growth of a healthy and responsible personality.

VII. INNER CONFLICT, CONFUSION; IMPAIRMENT OF CHARACTER

The central point of Gunnar Myrdal's analysis of American race relations from which it derives its title, An American Dilemma, is the deep cultural and psychological conflict among the American people: of American ideals of equality, freedom, God-given dignity of the individual, inalienable rights, on the one hand, against practice of discrimination, humiliation, insult, denial of opportunity to Negroes and others in a racist society, on the other. (12)

As white children mature in our society, some become aware of this conflict and attempt, in one way or another, to deal with it. Many become aware, for example, of the lack of fulfillment of the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag:".... one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

Many white children are taught two differing standards of behavior: kindness, friendliness, respect, trust, care for the feelings of others, courtesy, fairness, decency, and justice; but in the case of Negroes, and perhaps other minorities, they are taught dissimulation, superiority, avoidance, and the acceptance of caste arrangements.

Gordon and Roche, writing on the harm that segregation does to Whites, state that:

> "On the one hand a person is taught that equal treatment for all persons and the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God are the values by which to guide conduct. On the other hand he is exposed to forces which dictate behavior patterns of hostility, superiority, and avoidance toward certain minority groups. This provides a setting for internal conflict, tension, the feelings of guilt. While it cannot, in the present state of our knowledge, be safely asserted that all prejudiced majority persons in the United States experience this inner conflict, it is entirely likely that at various levels of awareness and consciousness, many do."(13)

Pointing to the moral aspects of this situation, Gordon and Roche say:

> "The gap between creed and deed in American life with regard to racial and other forms of group discrimination constitutes a weakening of the moral tone of America and doubtless contributes to the flabbiness of moral codes in other important areas...The consequences of this "American Dilemma" are that American life functions in the constant shadow of a patent evasion of a major moral imperative. The child growing up in such a culture is faced with the perpetual reminder that creeds are one thing, deeds another; and that the adult world, to a large degree, countenances this hypocrisy."

Dan Dodson, Director of the Center for Human Relations and Community Studies of New York University, says that we may be teaching our children to hide from both people and problems:

> "More and more city neighborhoods and suburbs are becoming so segregated that a child can grow up in either without any real contact with children of different racial, religious or social backgrounds.
>
> "Do we parents want to teach our children how to hide respectably from those who are different from ourselves?...But unless we can develop more authentic values 'the home in the country with grass under our feet' may actually deprive our children of as good a chance as we had. It is a foregone conclusion that they will not get a better chance if the major thing they are taught is to flee from encounters with those who are different. It will be extremely difficult for them to move heroically in this space age, if we supply them with a ghetto mentality."(14)

VIII. DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN, PRODUCTS OF WHITE SEGREGATION

Whites whose minds and feelings have been produced in ghettoized ways of living are quite likely to experience Negroes (outside of traditional roles) with a sense of resentment, a feeling of discord, a sense of dissonance, like a familiar pattern disarranged. These people are seriously handicapped in their ability to react to Negroes as persons, to interact with naturalness and spontaneity, without anxiety, fear or guilt. They feel at best in a strange and unnatural situation, experience considerable discomfort, and desire, consciously or unconsciously, that the pattern revert to the familiar, proper and the "natural."

Children who develop in this way are robbed of opportunities for emotional and intellectual growth, are limited in basic development of the self so that they cannot accept darker pigmented people. Such persons are severely handicapped in a complex, interactive, multi-ethnic world, undergoing inter-group tension and conflict.

Not only is the ghettoized white child handicapped in accepting and interacting with those different from himself, but he is seriously disadvantaged in recognizing and in dealing with some of the most basic issues of his society in a real world.

WHITE IDENTITY: THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RACISM

How are White Attitudes
of Racial Superiority
Developed and Sustained?

Reading Questions on "The Rightness of Whiteness":

1. How may a White child's sense of self (who he is) develop in "Whiteland?"
2. What factors influence the development of a White psychology (the growing mind) in a White World?
3. What may the Black symbolize for Whites?
4. What do the statistics about the following tell us:
    a) White stereotypes about Blacks?
    b) White feelings about contact with Blacks?
5. What kinds of deep racial attitudes may children sense?
6. How may the concepts and language we use reflect unconscious racist attitudes of dominance and superiority?
7. How does White-centeredness lead to a distortion of the White person's sense of reality?
8. What kinds of inner conflict, confusion and impairment of character may Whites develop from the disparity between democratic ideals and racist realities?

Discussion Questions on White Identity: The Psychology of Racism:

1. How do you think attitudes that would lead children to respect all people regardless of color might be cultivated?

    a) In the family?

    b) In the school?

    c) In the mass media?

2. Do you think that racist attitudes are so ingrained in American culture that they can't be changed?

3. If the argument contained in this article is true regarding the development and perpetuation of White psychology, what consequences do you think there are for American society?

4. Do you think that racial integration of the public schools will sharply reduce stereotyped White attitudes concerning Blacks. How do you think racial integration will affect how different races perceive each other?

FURTHER STUDENT EXPLORATION

1. Students may want to explore aspects of Black psychology. Black Rage and Jesus Bag by Dr. William Grier and Dr. Price Cobb are excellent.

2. Students may want to test the validity of the Harris Poll results by conducting their own survey of stereotyped attitudes about Blacks and White feelings about contact with Blacks in their own communities.

3. Students may want to explore the thesis of "Rightness of Whiteness" in connection with other non-White racial minority groups (Chicanos, Native Americans and Asian Americans).

18. CHICANO IDENTITY - AN INTRODUCTION

Chicanos are hands down, the country's least known, though second largest, ethnic minority. The little that is "known" about them is frequently untrue. Indeed, their emerging movement may best be defined by what it is often assumed to be but is not:

- It is not basically a rural movement, although the California grape workers' strike was the single most important event in its creation, and the farm workers' leader, Cesar Chavez, is its most revered figure. Most of the country's 7.5-million Chicanos live in cities. Their problems are urban ones despite their deep feeling for the land.

- It is not a repetition of the blacks' civil rights movement, although the example of black activism--whether riots or confrontation politics--shook many Chicanos out of their traditional passivity. The two groups differ sharply in history, social structure and, to some extent, goals.

- It is not a belated chapter in the book of immigrant struggles for inclusion in U.S. society, although the Chicano shares some characteristics with immigrant groups: the problem of reconciling two cultures and the relative acceptance by society of individuals who "make it" in society's terms. Even if he arrived yesterday, the Chicano tends to regard himself as one of a conquered people rather than as an immigrant who freely chose the U.S. Mexicans lived here before the Anglo came; Mexico lies just across the border, and the cultural pull toward the homeland is stronger than it is for most descendants of Europeans.

The Crippling Handicaps

What the emerging movement seeks--in the broadest sense--is to improve the Chicano's social and economic lot while preserving his traditional values. It is a staggering task, for the community has few resources.

The average Chicano is poor. His median income--$5,488 in November, 1969, the 1970 census month--is less than 70% of the U.S. median. His unemployment rate almost doubles the national figure. Chicanos own 1% of the nation's businesses (all small) and three of its 13,500 commercial banks (1 small). Unlike the black community, Chicanos have no substantial middle or upper class. To an overwhelming degree, they are unskilled workers, a crippling handicap in an increasingly professional- and business-minded society.

The Chicano is undereducated. Adults over 35 average 7.3 years of schooling compared with 12 years for the general population. In Texas, only one out of every five Chicano children who enter school stays long enough to get a high school diploma. One out of every five of his elders never attend school at all. Although college enrollment is rising, the totals are still pitiful. San Diego College, which had 40 Chicano students five years ago, has 800 today--out of 27,000 students, in an area heavily populated by Chicanos.

Politically, the Chicano is probably the most under-represented citizen in the U.S. Los Angeles lacks a single Chicano city councilman although it has more than 1-million Chicano residents and is, in effect, the third largest Mexican city in the world, after Mexico City and Guadalajara. A pie-shaped system of districting slices a piece of the barrio into almost every district, giving none a Chicano majority. Only New Mexico, with a 27% Chicano population, has a respectable number of Chicano representatives, headed by U.S. Senator Joseph Montoya. The four Chicano Congressmen represent mixed districts, and the best known, Henry B. Gonzales of

San Antonio, faces opposition from militants at home. The most aggressively Chicano official in the U. S. is probably Jose Angel Gutierrez, president of the school board of Crystal City, Tex., which has a population of 9,000.

The Chicano is young. His median age is 17; in East Los Angeles, it is 15. And he is likely to get younger. Chicanos have the highest birthrate in the U.S. The 1960 census (the latest source for birthrate figures) recorded 709 children under five for every 1,000 Chicano women between 15 and 49, compared with 613 for blacks and 455 for Anglos.

Some of the specific figures are arguable. Chicanos have been classified by birth, surname, language at home, and guess ("If you think he's Mexican American, put it down"), creating statistical chaos. Even the Census Bureau's official figure of 5.1-million Chicanos is admittedly inaccurate; it omits many women married to Anglos and almost all illegal immigrants. Most experts believe that more than 5-million Chicanos live in the five states of the Southwest alone. The 7.5-million total is simply the estimate used by many groups close to the subject.

Chicano Identity - An Introduction

Mexican American or Chicano identity is undergoing changes today. Development of Chicano identity means the emergence of a new kind of American of Mexican descent who is the result of a deliberate effort to create a new self-image and change the way Mexican Americans are viewed by others. Stereotyped images of Mexicans as lazy, violent, cruel or manana oriented people are being attacked by proud, young people who abhor the mass media distortions.

Conscious of their mixed European and Indian heritage, called La Raza, they seek to develop in their young ego strength to withstand the buffeting of Anglo culture.

In addition, they hope to cast their Spanish language culture in a light which respects itself and counters Anglo cultural hegemony. Brown skin color is increasingly being looked upon as a badge of honor rather than a mark of oppression and subservience which has been traditional in color conscious America.

Chicanos are aware that all too often their children have not succeeded in Anglo middle class schools. They are increasingly aware that although they have been blamed for holding too tenaciously to their Latin culture, their children have often failed to adjust because of residual racist attitudes which are exclusionary in nature and which have also affected Asian Americans, Blacks, and Native Americans.

Chicanos justifiably view as suspect the cliche "Just become more like the Anglo majority and you will find acceptance." They are coming to the realization that lack of jobs for fathers, restriction to barrio slums, and low grades for their children in school cannot simply be explained away by personal inadequacy. Prejudice against Chicanos is a group phenomenon.

The fault lies not in self or in Chicano culture, but rather in an oppressive exclusionary system which explains much more about the lack of opportunities for Chicanos. A movement for the change of perception and identity will help Chicanos re-interpret the past and shape their own future in the United States.

The following materials focus on Chicanismo as an emerging counter-identity.

19. UNDERSTANDING THE MEXICAN AMERICAN

(Concept: Culture Conflict)

> This is a quotation of an article by Luis F. Hernandez *Luis F. Hernandez, "The Culturally Disadvantaged Mexican American Student: Part I," Journal of Secondary Education, (Fe 1967), 59-65.

Mexican American students are largely the descendents of an agrarian folk culture. Their parents have had limited experiences in urban-industrial society, in civic affairs, in organizational endeavors, and accomplishment. The more recent the parent and student introduction to American urban society, the more marked will be the differences between their attitudes, values, skills, and knowledge of the urban society.

The Mexican American student must straddle two cultures. He must try to adjust his cultural heritage that made possible the survival of his family that built family traditions and gave meaning to life in an agrarian society with the new urban values schools and society are advocating as the "way of life."

The conflict that results from this dichotomy frequently results in the student feeling that he belongs to no culture and has no real identity.

Origins of the Mexican American -

To better understand the Mexican American student and to eliminate the use of generalizations it should be understood that the Mexican American can come from any of eight (8) major groups.

1. He may be the descendant of an early California family.
2. He may be second or third generation from a family of political refugees who came here during the 1910-1920 uprisings.
3. He may be second or third generation descendant of agricultural workers who came here during the labor shortage year of 1917-1918.

If he is from any of these three groups, he is probably completely Americanized with little knowledge of his Mexican heritage. He probably speaks little or no Spanish.

4. He may be the son of a "bracero" who recently settled in California.
5. He may be a Tejano, an immigrant from Texas.
6. He and his family may be a recent arrival from the border towns of Baja or Sonora.

Students of these three groups are more likely to speak Spanish in the home and the community. He holds rightly to Mexican traditions and customs.

7. He may be an emigrant from New Mexico, and thinks of himself as a "Hispano" (more Spanish than Mexican).
8. He may be from Arizona, Nevada, or Utah.

Students of these two categories are usually well assimilated.

Family Traditions -

The Mexican American family described in 4, 5, and 6 is generally a tight patriarchal one. The mother is the center of the family, but the father has all the authority. The eldest boy is the heir and has much status. The family unit frequently includes grandparents, aunts, uncles and compadres. The child owes his first loyalty to the family. He counts on the family for security, aid and comfort during periods of crisis.

Boys are taught the significance of being a man (macho). He must develop his life along this (Machismo or soy muy hombre) "very much the man." This indoctrination accounts for the bravado, bravery, defense of honor and the urge to establish the right image before girls and other friends. It also explains why so many boys look for work rather than complete school.

Girls in families described in 4, 5, and 6 usually have the responsibility of caring for the younger children, doing housework, and assisting in the preparation of meals.

Research indicates the youngsters who have the most difficulties in adjusting to school and society, come from homes where:

1. The mother has been forced to go to work. The father's ability to provide for the family effects status in the community and with the family (machismo). The entire traditional structure of family life frequently collapses.
2. The family has recently immigrated. Sharp and immediate conflict faces youngsters from this group. Traditional attitudes towards school and life are in conflict with those teachers and administrators. His parents look upon school as the fulfillment of obligations imposed on them by the government. Achievement at school does not receive the middle-class approval.

The student must alone overcome his language handicap, understand the foreign society, accept the new values, and find worth in what is being taught.

Yes, there are those who can overcome the obstacles, but this is the exception. The majority find the hurdles too high and decide that they are not capable, which ultimately leads to delinquency and dropout.

Reading and Discussion Questions on Understanding the Mexican American:

1. What are the eight (8) major groups from which Mexican American students originate according to this article?
2. How do the groups differ in terms of assimilation to Anglo culture and
   a) Patriarchal authority?
   b) Machismo?
   c) Responsibility of girls for child care and preparation of meals?
3. According to this article, from what kinds of homes do youngsters come from who have the most difficulty adjusting to school?

4. One explanation for Mexican childrens' failure to achieve success in school is that their home culture is so different from the middle-class school culture. They may be doomed to failure because of these differences. This explanation is called the CULTURAL DEFICIT HYPOTHESIS. (They fail because of a fault which is internal to their culture. The cliche is that they are, officially, "culturally deprived.")

Proximity to Mexico and tenacity of culture are both used by Anglo apologists to account for the high drop-out rate among Chicano youngsters. The cultural deficit explanation is one which is more comforting to the Anglos who would be less willing to admit their implication in a system which pushes Chicano youngsters to drop out and subtly limits their aspirations and opportunities.

Is lack of sufficient skill with the English language the problem?

Is failure on the part of teachers to develop sophisticated language instruction techniques and cross-cultural understandings the problem?

Is White racist exclusion the problem?

20. TWO TEACHERS VIEWS OF MEXICAN AMERICANS

(Concept: Prejudice and Expectations)

One Anglo school teacher summed up the "problem" as she saw it in the following manner,

> "They are good people. Their only handicap is the bag full of superstitions and silly notions they inherited from Mexico. When they get rid of these superstitions they will be good Americans. The schools help more than anything else. In time, the Latins will think and act like Americans.
>
> A lot depends on whether we can get them to switch from Spanish to English. When they speak English at home like the rest of us they will be part of the American way of life."

A sympathetic teacher quoted in
William Madsen: The Mexican American
of Southwest Texas.

Discussion Questions:

1. What pre-conceived notions does this teacher have about Chicanos?
2. Do you think that a teacher with these prejudices against Chicanos as a group would really be more kindly disposed toward them weven if they spoke English well? Why? Why not?

Another teacher said,

> "Most of the Mexican Americans have never had it so good. Before the Spanish came, he was an Indian grubbing in the soil, and after the Spaniards came, he was a slave. It seems to me that America must be a very desirable place. Witness the number of "wetbacks" and migrants both legal and illegal from Mexico.
>
> Yes, I agree that he sees himself as a passive object. Therein lies the whole problem, as well as the answer. When it comes to going to the best schools in the world, FREE, he is passive. Absenteeism is his culture. His way of life has always been manana. Maybe he will get an education--manana (sic). When it comes to repairing his home, controlling child birth, planning for tomorrow, he is passive. Those that have melted with the melting pot have broken away from this kind of culture and have become lawyers, teachers, and skilled employees. But first he is going to have to throw off his passiveness and want to get ahead--on his own."

A teacher in the Southwest quoted in
Con Safos magazine, Los Angeles.

Discussion Questions:

1. What criticisms of Chicano culture does this teacher make?
2. What Anglo qualities does this teacher obviously admire?

3. What qualities are more important in U.S. society competitiveness or cooperation? Explain your choice.

21. THE LANGUAGE BARRIER

(Concept: Language and American Identity)

The controversy over native tongues versus English is old. The following is an article written in 1906 by an Italian American.

1906

THE LANGUAGE BARRIER
by Gino Speranza

The most important element in success after employment, is learning English, and the ways of the new country. The immigrant may be well educated in his own language but without English this may avail him nothing but the labour gang.

The effect of the immigrant's lack of opportunity to learn English whether due to indifference or to ignorance, is often underestimated. It is the greatest draw-back to assimilation. It is impossible for them to understand our institutions, laws, conditions and obligations when they must depend upon their more or less inexperienced countrymen to explain to them. It retards individual progress, for many able educated men are working in tunnels and ditches simply because they do not know English, which is so essential to their holding skilled positions and the struggle for a livlihood leaves them but little initiative to seek it. It prevents American contacts and fosters the foreign colony.

The absence of educational facilities for adults educates the child so far beyond the parents that not only does it estrange them, but seriously affects home training and discipline, for the child is placed in a superior position. The children become wayward, willful, and disrespectful, acquire knowledge with which the parent is not familiar and gradually find their interest and pleasure away from home. It is extremely necessary that the parents be taught English so that they may more readily understand our customs, habits, and tastes in order that they may keep in touch with the child. Miss Julia Richman, one of the district Superintendents in New York City Schools, writes in a Report of the National Education Association of 1905:

"The parents remain foreign; the children become American. There is thus created an almost unbridgeable gulf between the two. Difference in taste, customs and language brings about domestic shipwreck. The parents remain at home, and mourn over the waywardness, wilfulness and disloyalty of their children. The children find their best friends among the teachers and settlement workers, and their warmest interests away from home. Wider and wider grows the gap, until the children have lost absolutely all touch with the home, all sympathy with their parents. Indpenendence of parental control and disrespect for the opinions of the old folks is not an uncommon condition. When children seek and find all their pleasures, all their companions, and all their interests away from home, the community and the nation are bound to suffer. A happy nation is based upon happy homes."

Discussion Questions:

1. What happens to a child who is taught that his parents' language is not good enough to speak at school?

2. Would Speranza be for or against bilingual education?

3. Why have other non-English speaking children assimilated more easily?

22. A TEXAS RANGER'S VIEW OF MEXICANS IN THE 19th CENTURY

(Concept: Overt Racism)

"1. The Mexican is cruel by nature. The Texan must in self-defense treat the Mexican cruelly, since that is the only treatment the Mexican understands.

2. The Mexican is cowardly and treacherous, and no match for the Texan. He can get the better of the Texan only by stabbing him in the back or by ganging up on him with a crowd of accomplices.

3. Thievery is second nature in the Mexican, especially horse and cattle rustling, and on the whole he is about as degenerate a specimen of humanity as may be found anywhere.

4. The degeneracy of the Mexican is due to his mixed blood, though the elements in the mixture were inferior to begin with. He is descended from the Spaniard, a second-rate type of European, and from the equally substandard Indian of Mexico, who must not be confused with the noble savages of North America.

5. The Mexican has always recognized the Texan as his superior and thinks of him as belonging to a race separate from other Americans.

6. The Texan has no equal anywhere, but within Texas itself there developed a special breed of men, the Texas Rangers, in whom the Texan's qualities reached their culmination."

Americo Parades: With a Pistol in His Hand

Discussion Questions

1. How do the teachers' remarks about Chicanos (see part 20 of this section) differ from this 19th century view of Mexicans?
2. How are the remarks similar?
3. Does the author see mixed blood as a positive or negative quality.
4. Were Texans just exaggerated Americans?

23. CULTURE CONFLICT AND MEXICAN AMERICAN ACHIEVEMENT

By Neal Justine

(Concept: Culture Conflict)

It appears that the least-educated citizens in the U.S. are the Mexican Americans. Nearly 1,000,000 Spanish-speaking children in the Southwest never will go beyond the eighth grade. In some areas, up to 90% of the Mexican Americans fail to complete high school.

What are some of the causes of deprivation and failure among the Mexican Americans? Four closely related areas are of concern: language, discrimination, lower socioeconomic status, and culture.

The most obvious identifying characteristic of the Mexican Americans is their language. The Tucson Survey of the Teaching of Spanish to the Spanish-Speaking by the National Education Association placed great emphasis on the influence of the Spanish language and its use as related to academic achievement. In fact, the language barrier currently is given more attention than any other factor affecting Mexican American achievement.

The use of the Spanish language by the Mexican Americans has played a definite role in the isolation and discrimination of these people by the Anglos. The preservation of the Spanish language has been interpreted by the dominant group as "a persistent symbol and instrument of isolation." While the Anglo tends to consider the use of Spanish as an indication of foreignness, the Mexican Americans consider it a symbol of their unity and loyalty to La Raza.

In his discussion on barriers to Mexican integration, Officer stated that "the greatest hindrance to complete cultural assimilation of Tucson's Mexicans is the language problem." Apparently this opinion has been shared widely by educators, if we can judge from the adjustments made for Mexican Americans in curricula.

There is evidence that the language barrier, although important, may be overrated. Available research shows that language need not be an insurmountable barrier to the academic and intellectual achievement of youngsters who come from foreign language-speaking homes. Henderson points out that "the current mania for structural linguistics as a panacea for educational problems of Mexican American children is another example of a language centered curriculum emphasis." Moreover, he shows that the Mexican American pupils who spoke the most Spanish also could speak the most English. Nevertheless, most educators consider the language barrier as the major obstacle to the Mexican American's success and achievement in school.

There is substantial evidence, however, that the greater emphasis should be placed on the socio-cultural problems of the Mexican American. The ugly factors of discrimination and prejudice have played and continue to play an important role in keeping the Mexican Americans in a subservient position. The Mexican coming to the U.S. is confronted with a double problem of prejudice. In Mexico, class discrimination is commonplace, but discrimination against color is unusual. Here, unfortunately, discrimination and prejudice commonly are based on both class and color.

Prejudice against the Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the Southwest generally follows this pattern: lack of job opportunities, lack of educational opportunities, segregation in housing, lack of equality before the law, and various kinds of social discrimination. Among the major reasons for this situation are a strong history of lower socioeconomic status, darker skin color, language, conflicting cultural traits and customs, and religion.

For the most part, discrimination against the Mexican Americans is subtle in nature. While the Mexican American enjoys all the legal rights of citizenship, he is the victim of extralegal discrimination. It is this special type of discrimination which led Tuck to call her book Not With the Fist. In it, she comments: "Rather than having a job of battering down a wall, the Mexican American finds himself entangled in a spider web, whose outlines are difficult to see but whose clean, silken strands hold tight."

The inferior socioeconomic status of the Mexican Americans may be greater than most Americans would like to admit. Although Mexican Americans are found in all walks of life, an examination of the 1960 U.S. Census data shows that they occupy an overwhelmingly large position in the lower-ranking occupations. Almost 75% of the Mexican Americans are employed as manual workers. This concentration in the unskilled occupations has had a severe effect upon their incomes. The 1960 Census data indicate that the Mexican Americans in the Southwest earned between $1,000 and $2,000 less per year than did the Anglo unskilled workers. In all of the five Southwestern states, the average incomes of Mexican Americans are far below that of the population in general.

The greatest barrier to the acculturation, assimilation, and achievement of the Mexican Americans probably is culture conflict. Other immigrant groups to the U. S. have felt the blow of discrimination. The Chinese, Jews, Italians, Irish, Polish, etc., are common examples. However, the faster the immigrant group moves toward adopting the customs and language of the dominant culture, the less discrimination they seem to experience. Madsen believes that any ethnic group that fails to show a maximum faith in America, science, and progress will be subject to discrimination. It would be additionally difficult for the members of this group to assimilate if they are physically distinguishable, if they use a foreign language, and if they hold to cultural ways that are not compatible with the dominant culture.

Unlike other immigrant groups, the Mexican Americans have preferred to hold to their Mexican cultural ways and Spanish language. This may be attributed to their close proximity to Mexico.

The question then arises: Which of the Mexican American cultural ways is in greatest conflict with the dominant Anglo culture? Extensive and careful review of numerous studies by Angell, Chilcott, Kluckhohn, Madsen, Simmons, Strodtbeck, Zintz, and others indicates that there are two Mexican cultural characteristics that are the mirror image of the Anglo culture. These are concerned with feelings of personal control (fatalism) and delay of gratification (future orientation). Could it be that even third- or fourth-generation Mexican American students are actually more fatalistic and present-time oriented than their Anglo peers? What might this mean in terms of curriculums and cultural conflict?

To answer these questions, the writer set up an exploratory study at the College of Education, University of Arizona. A total of 168 male, Mexican American seniors and 209 male, Anglo seniors were selected randomly for testing at four urban Tucson high schools. A special questionnaire, adapted from a similar instrument developed by the Institute of Behavioral Science, University of Colorado, was revised judged for content validity, tested for reliability, and then administered to the sample population.

The statistical analysis of the data pertaining to the two cultural characteristics of delayed gratification (future orientation) and feelings of personal control (fatalism) provided a number of significant differences when the means of the two sample population were subjected to independent tests.

The Mexican Americans showed a mean of 6.90 on the measurement of their feelings of personal control, while their Anglo peers had a mean of 8.51. Measurement of the tendency to delay gratification provided a mean of 3.99 for the Mexican Americans and 4.63 for the Anglos. In each case, the differences between these means were significant at the .05 level.

Marked contrast, therefore, is seen between the Mexican Americans and the Anglos. The Mexican Americans are significantly lacking in feelings of personal control and concern with delayed gratification when compared to their Anglo peers. These findings indicate that, whatever culture change has taken place among the second-, third-, and fourth-generation Mexican Americans, it has not been great with reference to these two characteristics. It also should be considered that the students selected for this study were second-semester seniors and were, therefore, a select group of achievers in relation to their many peers who already have dropped out of school. One may have good cause to wonder how great these differences would have been if the study had been done with junior high students. Even with these very conservative results, the Mexican Americans are seen to be significantly different from their Anglo peers.

Assuming that most of our school curricula are constructed by Anglos who apparently have significantly different orientations to life, then what over-all effect does this have upon the Mexican American youngsters? What conflicts may be built into the curriculum that could permeate the whole subculture of education. Kneller provides a word to the wise when he asserts that, before we can attain our educational goals, we must be aware of the internalized antagonisms of the culture that may thwart the efforts of teachers. Could it be that our Anglo-dominated curricula inadvertently thwart the efforts of both the Mexican American students and their teachers? There may be a good reason to consider the findings of this study. Perhaps, we should examine the appropriateness of our curricula as they apply to the Mexican American student in particular.

Discussion Questions on Culture Conflict and Mexican American Achievement:

1. Justin, the author, acknowledges that racial discrimination may be a significant part of the explanation for Chicano lack of school success. He does, however, offer some cultural explanations which he believes have some relevance. What cultural explanations does he offer? Are they convincing to you? Why?

2. What kinds of solutions does the author offer?

3. Justin is saying that there are some key understandigs that White Anglos must develop if they are to be part of the solution rather than part of the problem. How must White Anglos change psychologically? How must the school system change? Would the changes benefit all students or only Chicanos?

24. THE IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE

By Richard Olivas

(Concept: Alienation)

The traditional vehicle for Americanizing the newcomer has been the public schools.

I'm sitting in my history class,
The instructor commences rapping,
I'm in my U.S. History class,
And I'm on the verge of napping.

The Mayflower landed on Plymouth Rock.
Tell me more! Tell me more!
Thirteen colonies were settled.
I've heard it all before.

What did he say?
Dare I ask him to reiterate?
Oh why bother
It sounded like he said,
George Washington's my father.

I'm reluctant to believe it,
I suddenly raise my mano.
If George Washington's my father,
Why wasn't he Chicano?

THE IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE
(a poem)

Exploration of Feelings:

1. How do you think the student feels in his U.S. History class?

2. The teacher should write the descriptive words on the blackboard. Which of the words best describes how he feels?

3. Have your students ever felt alienated in a class?

4. Under what circumstances?

5. If you were a friend of this student and he told you how he feels, what would you tell him?

25. AN OPEN LETTER TO SOCIETY

"Chato" Estrada La Palabra:
McNeil Island Federal Penitentiary

(Concept: Alienation)

You tell me that I am a criminal. You say I am no good.
You say that I should be like you, so that I may be a
good citizen.

I had been told the following things all my life. My
teacher didn't want me to speak Spanish, because it
was bad. I was told I should not be a Catholic because
it was bad. I was told I should not be so loyal to my
friends because it was bad. I was told I should not be so
clannish because it was not the American Way.

I now speak only English; I am no longer a Catholic;
I have quit being loyal to my friends; I am no longer
clannish. I have changed everything but the color of
my skin.

And what have I become? I am a brown man who has
no belief in God, who cannot speak in his parents'
language, who has become a traitor to his friends, and
am now an outcast to my people.

I have tried to be like you. And now you tell me that
I am a criminal. Isn't that what you wanted?

Discussion Questions on An Open Letter to Society - (A Poem):

1. Could failure in school on a consistent basis pre-dispose one to criminality?

2. Does society create criminals like it creates other professional types?

3. What do you think "Chato" Estrada would say to a White Anglo who said the following:

   a) The Constitution guarantees freedom of religion. There's not any prejudice against Catholics.

   b) People in America are free to speak any language they want.

   c) Color prejudice in America used to be a problem, but not in the second half of the 20th Century.

   d) Loyalty to friends is an admirable quality.

26. HOW TO IMPROVE CONDITIONS

(Concept: Institutional Change)

> "If I were to change the curriculum I would include more of the histories of the Southwest, of New Spain, of Spain herself, of the various Indian cultures of the Southwest that have blended with the culture of the Mexican American. I would devote much more time to the language arts. I would also teach part of the curriculum in the home language of the students, in Spanish, so that they would attain language development in the language that is easiest for them."

Dr. George I. Sanchez,
Professor of Education,
University of Texas, Austin
quoted in Civil Rights Digest.

Discussion Questions:

1. How does Dr. Sanchez hope to motivate Chicano students?
   What else might be done?

2. Why does he feel that knowledge of history and bilingual education is a partial solution to Chicano identity?

3. What is positive identity?

(Concept: Frustration and Violence)

> "Ya Basta! (Enough!) The schools are not teaching us. Over fifty per cent of us Chicanos are pushed out of school. If we want to make it we have to surrender our language. They want to make us coconuts--brown on the outside and white on the inside.
>
> They treat us like it is a sin to speak Spanish. We want to know about us, not only about them.
>
> School officials don't listen. Our buildings are falling apart. Did you ever see those schools in the West side or in the Black area? Also, the teachers here don't care if we learn. Maybe now that we blew out, they'll listen!"

A Los Angeles High School student,
March, 1968

Discussion Questions:

1. Why is this student fed up?

2. What is a "coconut" according to the student?
   (Compare with Oreo cookies, bananas, and red apples)

3. What purpose does he think violence might serve?

4. Are there more creative outlets for frustration?

27. MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME AND FAMILY SIZE

(Concept: Ambiguity of Statistics)

State and Population Group	Median Family Income	Median Family Size
Arizona		
Total population	$5,568	3.41
Spanish Surname	4,183	4.56
Nonwhite	2,457	4.38
California		
Total population	$6,726	3.19
Spanish Surname	5,533	4.01
Nonwhite	4,971	3.46
Colorado		
Total population	$5,780	3.33
Spanish Surname	4,008	4.38
Nonwhite	4,531	3.44
New Mexico		
Total population	$5,371	3.68
Spanish Surname	3,594	4.37
Nonwhite	2,484	4.46
Texas		
Total population	$4,884	3.33
Spanish Surname	2,914	4.63
Nonwhite	2,591	3.43

Estimated Number and Percent of Poor
Persons in Families. Various Population
Groups in the Southwest, 1960

Population Group	All Persons in Families	Poor Persons	Poor in Each Group as % of all Poor
Total	26,523,796	4,740,673	100.0
Spanish Surname	3,294,687	1,081,876	22.9
Nonwhite	2,403,980	926,923	19.6

About one-third of the Spanish surname Americans in the Southwest are poor. Family size is also important.

MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME AND FAMILY SIZE

Estimated Number and Percent of Poor Persons in Families

Statistical Analysis:

1. What kinds of generalizations can be drawn from these statistics?

   The teacher should write them on the board.

2. Are there any necessary relationships between family size and poverty?

   The teacher should write these on the board, and then have students read the next article on the Mexican American Family.

3. After reading the article on the family, would you modify or exclude any of the generalizations previously stated? Why? Why not?

4. a) If one believed that the "cultural deficit" hypothesis explained the "problems" of Chicanos how might he use these statistics?

   b) If one believed that the "institutional racism" or "personal prejudice" hypotheses explained the "problems" of Chicanos how might he use these statistics?

   c) Since statistics can be used selectively to support different hypotheses, what conclusions might you develop about the nature and use of statistics?

28. THE MEXICAN AMERICAN FAMILY

(Concept: Family Influence)

The Mexican American Family is one institution which some people blame for today's problems. Here are some of the criticisms:

1. Mexican Americans should practice birth control--their families are too large to support.
2. The family is retarding the education of the child by discouraging his school success.
3. Mexican American families do not teach their children English.
4. Many Mexican parents discourage their off-spring from seeking a higher education.
5. The family competes with the school, often making the student tardy because the family requires his or her services. This practice breaks the Anglo American rules of punctuality.

Other students of the Mexican American admit that the problem is complex, but insist that the family is the Mexican American's most valuable asset. Instead of attempting to destroy the family, they say, schools and society should attempt to preserve and work with it. They point out that any institution, whether it be the Mexican family the Catholic church, or the American public schools, will react defensively when under attack. Perhaps to the Mexican American family, school is an enemy, since the family may lose the child through his education and his passing into the middle class. The family may feel that the schools demean its worth in the eyes of its children and that to become educated is to deny one's heritage. Some Mexican Americans contend that most of the family's reactions are based on its response to economics. Maybe a clearer evaluation of the family's economic status would be more fruitful than a blanket indictment of the family itself.

Language can also become a defensive tool when cultures are under attack. Mexicans in the United States have stubbornly held on to Spanish in order to preserve their identity, just as French-Canadians in Canada and the Northeastern portion of the United States, and the Welsh and the Irish in the British Isles have preserved their languages.

Discussion Questions on The Mexican American Family:

1. Do you think that any of the criticisms of the Chicano family might be valid?

   Suppose you were a Chicano, how might you deal with such criticism?

2. Do the criticisms of the Chicano family contain any stereotyped views of Chicanos?

   What kind of Chicano families is the article referring to?

3. Family patterns can have both positive or negative effects. Have the students speculate about which might be positive or negative and under what social or historical conditions? (Agrarian/urban - Traditional/industrial -- In Mexico/in the United States)

4. If school makes a student ashamed of his family heritage, what would you advise him to do?

29. WHO IS A CHICANO? AND WHAT IS IT THE CHICANO WANT?

By Ruben Salazer

A Chicano is a Mexican American with a non-Anglo image of himself.

He resents being told Columbus "discovered" America when the Chicano's ancestors, the Mayans and the Aztecs, founded highly sophisticated civilizations centuries before Spain financed the Italian explorer's trip to the "New World."

Chicanos resent also Anglo pronouncements that Chicanos are "culturally deprived" or that the fact that they speak Spanish is a "problem."

Chicanos will tell you that their culture predates that of the Pilgrims and that Spanish was spoken in America before English and so the "Problem" is not theirs but the Angloes' who don't speak Spanish.

Having told you that, the Chicano will then contend that Anglos are Spanish-oriented at the expense of Mexicans.

They will complain that when the governor dresses up as a Spanish nobleman for the Santa Barbara Fiesta, he's insulting Mexicans because the Spanish conquered and exploited the Mexicans.

It's as if the governor dressed like an English Redcoat for a Fourth of July parade, Chicanos say.

When you think you know what Chicanos are getting at, a Mexican American will tell you that Chicano is an insulting term and may even quote the Spanish Academy to prove that Chicano derives from Chicanery.

A Chicano will scoff at this and say that such Mexican Americans have been brainwashed by Anglos and that they're Tio Tacos (Uncle Toms). This type of Mexican Americans, Chicanos will argue, don't like the word Chicano because it's abrasive to their Anglo-oriented minds.

These poor people are brown Anglos, Chicanos will say.

What, then, is a Chicano? Chicanos say that if you have to ask you'll never understand, much less become a Chicano.

Actually, the word Chicano is as difficult to define as "soul."

For those who like simplistic answers, Chicano can be defined as short for Mexican. For those who prefer complicated answers, it has been suggested that Chicano may have come from the word Chihuahua--the name of a Mexican state bordering on the United States. Getting trickier, this version then contends that Mexicans who migrated to Texas call themselves Chicanos because having crossed into the United States from Chihuahua they adopted the first three letters of that state, Chi, and then added caso, for the latter part of Texano.

Such explanations, however, tend to miss the whole point as to why Mexican American activities call themselves Chicanos.

Mexican Americans, the second largest minority in the country and the largest in the Southwestern states (California, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico and Colorado), have always had difficulty making up their minds what to call themselves.

In New Mexico they call themselves Spanish Americans. In other parts of the Southwest they call themselves Americans of Mexican descent, people with Spanish surnames or Hispanos.

Ask some Mexican Americans, can't we just call ourselves Americans? Chicanos are trying to explain why not. Mexican Americans, though indigenous to the Southwest, are on the lowest rung scholastically, academically, socially, and politically. Chicanos feel cheated. They want to affect change. How?

Mexican Americans average eight years of schooling compared to the Negroes, 10 years. Farm workers, most of whom are Mexican American in the Southwest, are excluded from the National Labor Relations Act unlike other workers. Also, Mexican Americans often have to compete for low-paying jobs with their Mexican brothers from across the border who are willing to work for even less. Mexican Americans have to live with the stinging fact that the word Mexican is the synomyn for inferior in many parts of the Southwest.

That is why Mexican American activities activists flaunt the barria word Chicano--as an set of defiance and badge of honor. Mexican Americans, though large in numbers, are so politically impotant that in Los Angeles, where the country's largest single concentration of Spanish-speaking live, they have no one of their own on the City Council. This, in a city politically sophisticated enough to have three Negro councilmen.

Chicanos, then, are merely fighting to become "Americans." Yes, but with a Chicano outlook.

Discussion Questions on Who is a Chicano? And What is it Chicanos Want?

1. Why do Chicanos prefer a name developed by themselves? Does it make any difference if Chicanos are called Mexican Americans, Latinos, Hispanos, or Mexicanos? What's in a name?

2. Changing names long has been a method of changing identity. Women do it when they marry. In some countries people take titles which permanently change their name from Mr. to Dr. When names are changed, how are perceptions changed? Can you think of examples of people, places, or things having their names changed and thereby becoming transformed.

   The teacher should put two columns on the board, one labeled positive transformation and the other negative transformation, and then illustrate to the class how transformation works.

	Positive	Negative
e.g.,	Ibo (African Tribeman)	Slave

30. CHICANO COURSE HOLDS MIRROR TO OTHERS, TOO

By Richard Vasquez

Times Staff Writer

(Concept: New Perspective)

Ramon Barza and Jim Hansen, junior college classmates, had been friends for years. Ramon looked very Mexican. Jim, of Scandinavian descent, looked it.

One day, Ramon, a student in one of the newly instituted courses in Chicano studies, opened this conversation:

Ramon: Tell me, Jim, just what do you think of me as a Mexican?
Jim: What do you mean?
Ramon: Just what I said. What do you think of me as a Mexican?
Jim: You're not a Mexican. You're as American as I am.

Chicano studies had prepared Ramon for this reply. After they talked some more, it was established Ramon was Mexican--in the same sense Kennedy was Irish, Alioto is Italian and Goldberg is a Jew.

Talk Enters New Stage

Then their talk proceeded to the next logical and predictable (for Ramon) stage:
Jim: Ray, I don't really think of you as a Mexican, I think of you as one of us.
Ramon: One of who?
Jim: Well, you know, you're not like ... well, like the others.
Ramon: You mean I'm not like Roberto (a Chicano acquaintance)?
Jim: No, he's OK too ... I mean, I didn't mean that.
Ramon: OK. You said I'm not like the others. What others?

At this point both boys were feeling more uncomfortable with one another than ever before, but Ramon was following a course set down by his Chicano studies teacher.

'You've Got to Admit ...'

Jim: Well, you're not like other Mexicans I've known. Are you? You've got to admit you're different. You've tried.

Ramon: What others? You said I was about the first Chicano you ever got to know real well.

Jim: That's not true! I know your family.

Ramon: And you're my friend because I'm not like my family.

Jim: I didn't say that.

Ramon: Yes you did.

Jim: Well, what I meant was--well, all right. You're not like your family. You're different from your parents.

Ramon: So if I was like my folks, I wouldn't be your friend.

Jim: Now Ray, don't put words in my mouth...

So the conversation went careening out of control. Jim was surprised to suddenly hear himself saying he didn't like the smell of strong food in Ramon's home and that was one reason he didn't like to go there.

And he was surprised to find that Ramon was keenly aware of a different kind of smell in Jim's home. Jim insisted that his and other Anglo homes had no odor, but that he'd noticed in "foreigners' houses" there was always a strong smell. And

Ramon was quick to seize on the slip "foreigner."

"I thought you said I was as American as you," he accused.

Friendship Dissolved

This friendship and perhaps hundreds like it--there's no way to tell how many--was dissolved. And, according to many who are involved in the newest addition to high school and college curricula, it really never was a friendship.

Many persons today are angered by such deliberate confrontations, which seemingly create antagonism. But a great number of Chicano faculty members and administrators agree such a confrontation is a fundamental step in the studies.

Students in Chicano studies are taught that reactions like those of Ramon and Jim are the result of a lifetime of living in an insensitive--if not racist--host society.

Television's Images

Without realizing it since Jim had been old enough to watch movies and television, the image of a Mexican as either a buffoon or merciless cut-throat had been thrust upon him.

In Chicano studies sensitivity sessions, Anglo students frequently say they can't recall seeing a Mexican portrayed on the screen as a responsible, sober person capable of doing competent, technical work.

Chicano studies teach that it is impossible not to respond to this stereotyping, and that the only "cure" is re-education--which is one reason why in some Chicano studies programs as many as one-third of the students are Anglo or Black.

Chicano Reaction

Conversely, it is impossible for a Chicano not to react to a lifetime of ridicule and maligning. But inasmuch as he cannot escape the accusing finger, he gets into all kinds of psychological trouble.

Raoul Guzman, dean of community services and adviser to MECHA, a student group, at Pasadena City College, and a pioneer in the field, points out that a double consciousness exists for many Chicanos.

"This double image is caused by constantly being forced to look at one's self through the eyes of others," Guzman explains. "This distorted image exists because the dominant society works against a Mexican being a Mexican."

Theory Expressed

According to Guzman, the Mexican, or Chicano, must become an American before the Anglo can be comfortable with himself and accept the Chicano as a friend and still condemn Mexicans through stereotypes.

"This wholesale generalization of the Mexican and his way of life simplifies the resolution of many Anglo problems," Guzman said.

"For example, the sick scapegoating--ascribing one's own hangups and unacceptable characteristics to Mexicans--allows the Anglo to feel superior while at the same time inferiorizing the Mexican."

The other side of this double image, Chicano studies experts agree, is how the Mexican American feels about himself.

"To be a Mexican is to enjoy and accept himself as he is, rather than how others, such as Jim, would like him to be," Guzman says.

This is what Chicano studies is all about: getting the Mexican American, or Spanish American, or Chicano--whichever word is preferred--to understand about himself and his people, his history and his culture, his heritage and his destiny.

But how can this be accomplished with a race (la Raza), a people who until very recently had never had a novel published by one of their own about themselves, never had a history book written by one of them about them, never had a single course offered about themselves in all the universities and colleges across the nation?

"You do it through Chicano studies," answers Francisco Sandoval, chairman of Chicano studies at Cal State Long Beach.

Sandoval believes the reason so many Chicano drop out of school (a 90% high school dropout rate in some parts of the nation) is their lack of identity, caused by having been left out of history, literature and society, except in negative respects.

"It's heartbreaking, but it's not hard to figure why so many Chicanos are on 'reds,' over-dosing, dropping out and in jail," he says. "It's part of my job here to make 400 Chicano students aware of what this society has done to them."

Discussion Questions on Chicano Course Holds Mirror to Others, Too:

Chicano studies are now being offered in most major universities and colleges in California and are recognized as legitimate areas of study for all students but especially for Chicano students.

1. In the conversation between Ramon and Jim, how does Jim reveal his unconscious racism?

2. How would you explain Jim's insensitivity?

3. Do you think that Ramon is being hyper-sensitive or justifiably hurt? Why? Why not?

4. Where did Jim get his stereotypes of Mexicans?

   Can you recall specific commercials or programs on television where Asian Americans, Blacks, Chicanos, or Native American stereotypes persist? List specific examples.

   Does the popularity of cowboy mythology as shown on television have anything to do with the perpetuation of negative stereotypes about the above three groups? i.e., Chinese cooks, Mexican bandits, "Wild" Indians?

5. "Ethnic" humor has a long history in American entertainment from the stage to television. Should television program executives supervise more closely or censor programs for stereotypes which ethnic or minority groups might find derogatory or negative. Do Polish, Italians or Mexicans differ as the subjects of jokes?

How would you balance the strong value of freedom of speech with the knowledge that negative stereotypes, even in humor, may do unconscious harm?

6. What can courses in Chicano studies do for

    a) The Chicano?

    b) The Black?

    c) The White Anglo?

7. What have been the effects of the Black Power movement and Black cultural revival on Chicanos?

8. What effect does the institutional acceptance of the name "Chicano" have?

31. CHICANO POWER, PRIDE OR PREJUDICE

by Rodolfo Salinas

(Concepts: Pride and Humanity)

> If I am not for myself, then who will be?
> If I am only for myself, then what am I?
> If not now, when?
>
> Talmud

"If I am not for myself, then who will be?" This line from the Talmud seems to be very applicable to the current Chicano movement. Chicanos must be for themselves. We must research and write our own history and the contributions made by Chicanos to the United States. Gabacho historians have left us out of the history books, and the social scientists have come up with a long list of false stereotypes about Chicanos.

Contrary to the "melting pot" myth that prevails in the United States what in reality exists is a "salad bowl," and Chicanos are the "chile." Every ethnic and religious group should know itself and be proud. Too often Chicanos are put down because of their accent, but we have only to turn on a radio or TV set to hear the many accents that make up the English spoken in this country. The unfortunate aspect is that the Chicano accent is stigmatized with inferiority, and as a result, Chicanos are regarded as being not quite as American as the gabachos. This idea of superiority is not only imposed upon Chicanos and other minorities in the U.S., but upon other nations of the western hemisphere as well. The implication is that the gabachos smugly assume that this country is the only America on two continents of Americas. Chicanos must insist that the Gabacho has no right to set the standards and values for those who have no need for their cultural ways.

The Chicano movement has taken many forms, but I think it has best been expressed by the struggle for the much needed reforms in education, in the bargaining power of the farm workers, and in the improvement of the present penal system. As a starting point in el movimiento, we have the question of identity. Who are we? From where do we come? What language do we speak? Motivated by ethnic pride, great efforts are being made by many Chicanos in all walks of life to study and use their history, language, and culture. For too long a time, Chicanos found the outlet for their pride in narcotics or chingasos against each other. They were destroying themselves. The current emphasis on "pride" as a means for bettering one's self and one's community is a welcome change. And let no one take the current movement lightly. La Causa is here to stay! It is a noble movement.

However, serious questions can be raised about the movement. For example, are the Mexicans guilty of committing those same indiscretions as they are (self righteously) accusing the gabacho of? Or, can the movement afford the prejuduces that it condemns? If I am only for myself, then what am I? What am I or what are we if phrases such as pinche Jap, pinche Nigger, or I jewed them down become a regular part of the Chicano's vocabulary. La Causa y La Raza will be nada if we allow ourselves to feel and use all the standard stereotypes and prejudices that we critize the gabachos for. The anger we feel when we see the Chicano stereotyped as "lazy" or "el Frito Bandito" is not valid if we ourselves use stereotypes against others. Chicanos must not perpetuate prejudices; we have been victims of them all our lives.

Cuando Chicanos gritan "Viva La Raza" o "Viva El Poder Chicano," and seek reform, they must not forget about internal reform. What we need, among other things, is a comprehensive study of the various racial and ethnic groups that make up La Raza. The history of Spain shows that Spaniards are made up of various combinations of Romans, Visigoths, Moors, Jews, Gitanos; in addition, Las Americas had racial influences from the Far East. All this has combined to create what has been called "La Raza Cosmica," or "La Raza Nueva."

Chicano power must set the example when it comes to race relations. How can we complain about the evils of the gabacho, if we imitate them? If Chicanos are really going to make a new contribution, we must not forget la dignidad humana.

There is much need for reform as Chicano Power moves on, both externally and internally, the pregunta is, "IF NOT NOW, WHEN?"

Discussion Questions on Chicano Power Pride or Prejudice:

1. What charges does Salinas give to the Chicano?
2. Redefine Americanism. Do you think Salinas is expressing Americanism? Why?
3. How will Chicanismo increase as the Mexican American increasingly find his identity?
4. Why does Salinas quote the Talmud?
5. Does the attainment of positive pride in ones own group necessarily lead to contempt for other groups?

32. EL PLAN ESPIRITUAL DE AZTLAN
(The Spiritual Plan of Aztlan)

(Concepts: Myth and Consciousness)

In the spirit of a new people that is conscious not only of its proud historical heritage, but also of the brutal "Gringo" invasion of our territory, we, the Chicano inhabitants and civilizers of the northern land of Aztlan, from whence came our forefathers, reclaiming the land of their birth and consecrating the determination of our people of the sun, declare that the call of our blood is our power, our responsibility and our inevitable destiny.

We are free and sovereign to determine those tasks which are justly called for by our house, our land, the sweat of our brows and by our hearts. Aztlan belongs to those that plant the seeds, water the fields, and gather the crops, and not to the foreign Europeans. We do not recognize capricious frontiers on the Bronze Continent.

Brotherhood unites us, and love for our brothers makes us a people whose time has come and who struggles against the foreigner "Gabacho" who exploits our riches and destroys our culture. With our heart in our hands and our hands in the soil, we declare the Independence of our Mestizo Nation. We are a Bronze people with a Bronze Culture. Before the world, before all of North America, before all our brothers in the Bronze Continent, We are a Nation, We are a Union of free pueblos, We are Aztlan.

Por la Raza Todo
(For the Race All)

Fuera de la Raza Nada
(Outside the Race Nothing)

"Aztlán," is the language of ancient Mexico, means "lands to the north." Thus it refers to what is now known as the Southwestern United States. The term Aztlan carries a certain mystique, a blend of legend and history. It has become much a part of the theme of Chicano nationalism, the resurgence of La Raza, or "brown culture." As one Chicano said at a recent youth conference - "Man has been in the Americas for more than 38,000 years. White men have been around for less than 500. It is presumptuous, even dangerous, for anyone to pretend that the Chicano, the 'Mexican American,' is only one more in the long line of hyphenated-immigrants to the new world. WE ARE THE NEW WORLD."

Discussion Questions on The Spiritual Plan of Aztlán:

Aztlán is a spiritual, mystical, mythological concept. A myth is a cluster of concepts built around a poetic symbol in one definition.

1. What role does mythology play in national or cultural identity?

   What myths are common to American nationalism?

2. What are the positive effects of mythology? What are its negative effects?

   The teacher might examine the useful myth that laws not men provide for justice.

3. Why is poetry a necessary part in the formation of national consciousness?

   (See the poem "I Am Joaquin" - by Gonzales - Section E of this book.)

4. Myth satisfies four basic explanations about the world and man.

   a) Explanation of nature - Sense of awe and wonder of the cosmos.

   b) Explanation of the nature of man - The beginnings.

   c) Explanation of life and death.

   *d) Explanation of cultural group identity (origins, development, destiny)

   Some Symbolic Motif

   - Anthropormorphism of nature
   - How man came to be
   - What happens after death? Immediately?
   - *- How the group of people began and what its destiny is

33. NATIVE AMERICAN IDENTITY

Quoted from VIOLENCE IN AMERICA, HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES

by Richard Maxwell Brown

"Unquestionably the longest and most remorseless war in American history was the one between the Whites and the Indians that began in Tidewater, Virginia, in 1607 and continued with only temporary truces for nearly 300 years down to the final massacre at Wounded Knee, South Dakota in 1890. The implacable hosility that came to rule White-Indian relations was by no means inevitable. The small Indian population that existed in the continental United States allowed plenty of room for the expansion of White settlement. The economic resources of the White settlers were such that the Indians could have been easily and fairly reimbursed for the land needed for occupation by the Whites.

In fact, a model of peaceful White-Indian relations was developed in 17th century New England by John Eliot, Roger Williams, and other Puritan statesmen. The same was true in 18th Century Pennsylvania where William Penn's humane and equitable policy toward the Indians brought that colony decades of White-Indian amity. Racial prejudice and greed in the mass of New England Whites finally reaped the whirlwind in King Phillip's Wa r of 1675-76, which shattered the peaceful New England model. Much later the same sort of thing happened in Pennsylvania in 1763 when Pontiac's Rebellion (preceded by increasing tensions) ended the era of amicable White-Indian relations in the Keystone colony.

Other Indian wars proliferated during the 17th century and 18th centuries, and the pace of the conflict slacken in the 19th century (with westward expansion linked to manifest destiny). It is possible that no other factor has exercised a more brutalizing influence on the American character than the Indian wars. The struggles with the Indians have sometimes been represented as being "just" wars in the interest of promoting superior Western civilization at the expense of the crude stone-age culture of the Indians. The recent ethnohistorical approach to the interpretations of White-Indian relations has given us a more balanced understanding of the relative merits of White and Indian civilizations.

Initially, the norms of Indian warfare were at a more barbaric level than those of Western Europe. ...Scalping, however, was soon adopted by White men, and down to the very last battle at Wounded Knee lifting the hair of an Indian opponent was the usual practice among experienced White fighters. Broken treaties, unkept promises, and the slaughter of defenseless women and children, along with the atrocity of taking scalps, continued to characterize the White American's mode of dealing with Indians. The effect on our national character has not been a healthy one; it has done much to shape our proclivity for violence."

Discussion Questions on Native American Identity:

A history of genocide, forced migrations, theft of land, destruction of culture, and creation of negative stereotypes of the oppressed people are all part of the American heritage many Native Americans would assert. Why do U.S. history books tend to soft pedal these harsh realities?

34. THE MANY FACES OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

by David P. McAllester

A change is sweeping across the United States--a change that is profoundly disturbing to the romantic image of the American Indian.

He is still there--in the movies, in beautiful costumes, noble and silent, a superb horseman and fighter. But now the costumes are appearing in places where they were never expected--in the middle of a Poverty March on Washington, at the seizure of Alcatraz Island, in a picket line around Plymouth Rock on Thanksgiving Day.

And instead of dancing and smiling, the Indians are telling us some cold personal facts about malnutrition, disease, joblessness, and slum living. A silent minority (Indians account for only one-half of one percent of the U.S. population) has become vocal and demonstrative in its effort to overcome more than three centuries of mistreatment.

Today's American Indian has many faces. He may be a successful rancher on the rolling grasslands of South Dakota or Montana, or a hopeless alcoholic in San Diego or Gallup. He may be a promising law student at Yale or Harvard, or a dropout from the sixth grade in New Mexico or Maine. He may be an educated young person struggling to improve the pathetic living conditions on the reservation, yet distrusted by his own people because he has been away from home too long and has become "different."

A few Indians are prominent in our national life: a famous entertainer such as Buffy Sainte-Marie, a Pulitzer Prize-winning author such as Scott Momaday, or a best-selling social critic such as Vine Deloria. There are other eminent Indians such as Annie Wauneka, cited by President Kennedy as one of America's outstanding women, and LaDonna Harris, wife of a U.S. senator and a trustee of Antioch College. But if you were to question any of them, they would undoubtedly agree that Indians in America today are in a desperate state of crisis and that the greater American community has no real understanding of what Indian life is like.

There are certain questions about Indian life that can be answered quickly with plain facts:

How many Indians are there in North America? More than half a million.

Are they a vanishing race? Their population once decreasing, is now dramatically increasing.

Are they allowed to leave the reservations? Yes, they may travel and work and live anywhere. Thousands of Indians are now in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and other cities.

Are they well-to-do? A few individuals are. But as a group, they have the lowest income and the worst health problems in the country.

Are they citizens? Yes, since 1924, when they were given the vote in national elections.

Where did Indians come from? Their legends say they were created here in the New World. Scholars agree that the racial kinship of Indians with the peoples of eastern Asia suggests a migration from that continent over the Bering Strait. The latest evidence indicates that this occurred perhaps 20,000 years ago, during the last glacial period. So much water was then locked up in the ice caps that the oceans must have been much lower. There could have been a dry land bridge connecting the Old World with the New.

The new Americans must have come over as nomadic hunters, not as "farmers," because the agriculture that finally developed in America consists of entirely different plants and animals from those developed in Europe, Africa, and Asia. The list is impressive. Corn, beans, squash, potatoes, tobacco, rubber, tomatoes, the turkey, the alpaca, the llama, the vicuna were all domesticated by the Indians. Among animals, only the dog seems to have accompanied the early Indians in their migrations eastward from Ancient Asia.

The story of the horse is a strange one. The early ancestor of this useful animal was the Eohippus (ee-o-HIP-us), a swift-footed creature the size of a fox. The Eohippus originated in the New World about 45 to 50 million years ago. This small four-toed horse evolved into several species of larger-hoofed animals and moved from North America into Asia and the Middle East, perhaps crossing by a land bridge similar to that used by the Indians.

Horses continued to evolve in the Old World, yet mysteriously, the Eohippus became extinct in North and South America. Nothing but fossil bones remained by the time the ancestors of the Indians arrived. It was only with the coming of the Spanish explorers in the 1540's that North American Indians saw their first horses. Before long, the Indians were capturing horses for themselves from the Spanish herds or from wild herds that had escaped from the Spaniards.

Indians and Eskimos are usually classified as members of a racial family that includes Chinese, Japanese, and other peoples of Asia.

Some groups of Indians, such as the Sioux, Kiowa, and Blackfeet of the Western Plains, are tall. The Ona of Tierra del Fuego at the southernmost tip of South America were among the tallest people in the world, averaging nearly 6 feet. Others such as the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona are typically short. The men are often only 5 feet 2 or 3 inches, and the women are even smaller. Some of the tribes of the Amazon Valley in Brazil are similar to the Pueblo people.

From the diversity of physical types and languages now found among the Indians, it seems likely that the movement into the New World was made by many different small groups, moving slowly southward and eastward. The trek went on for thousands of years.

After the Ice Age ended, Asian peoples may have crossed in boats to Alaska and other places along the Western Hemisphere's Pacific coastline. Pieces of pottery recently unearthed in Ecuador have been dated at 3000 B.C. What astonishes scholars is the resemblance of this pottery to Japanese styles from the same period.

Time--in some instances thousands of years--separated newcomers from the settled groups. As a result, a communication barrier arose, even between neighboring tribes. This cultural variation can be seen in language.

There is no "Indian" language, any more than there is an "Old World" language. Eight or nine major linguistic stocks are represented in North America alone. There are many more in Central and South America.

Sioux and Shoshoni are as different from each other as English is from Chinese. The Athapaskan languages, spoken in northwest Canada and by the Apache and Navajos in the southwestern United States, have speech tones similar to those of some Asiatic languages. In Navajo, for example, anaa means "war," but the same word with a high tone on the last syllable, anaa, means "somebody's eye." To the Navajos this is not the same word at all but a completely different one.

The Uto-Aztecan languages include Comanche, Shoshoni, Hopi, and, of course, Aztec. All of these languages are highly complex. The old-fashioned notion that Indians spoke simple languages largely made up of grunts. (i.e., "ugh!") merely reflected the ignorance of the early explorers and trappers who tried to communicate with people they had never seen before.

For many years the folk literature of the North American Indians was passed on by word of mouth since they had no phonetic writing system. Nowadays alphabets have been created, and this literature too is being preserved in writing. It ranges from love poems of a few lines to folktales and legends and epic poems contained in long ceremonial chants.

In certain important ways, the Indian view of the world was, and remains, strikingly different from that of the Europeans. Private ownership of land, for instance, deeply ingrained in European law and economics, was unknown to most Indians. A desire for land and riches was the primary motive that brought Europeans to America. When Indians were persuaded to "sell" their land, they often thought they were merely selling the white man the right to use it in common with Indians. They did not think that a person could own land any more than we think a person can own air.

Everywhere, the Indian philosophy of life was a deeply religious one, and much of this emphasis has continued down to the present day. Though the religions varied greatly, the major concern of most of them was not with the soul of man in the next world but with the forces of nature and the spiritual and physical welfare of man in this life.

No brief sketch of so many and such varied people as the American Indians can do justice to their history and the richness of their culture.

Reading Questions on The Many Faces of the American Indian:

1. What kinds of changes are disturbing the romantic image of the American Indian?

2. What key facts about Native Americans did you not know before reading this article?

3. According to this article who discovered America? Why might a Native American refer to European penetration of the Americas as an invasion of Europeans rather than discovery?

4. How do Native American tribes differ from each other? How are they similar in historic experiences?

5. How did Native American ideas of land tenure (ownership) differ from those of Europeans?

Discussion Questions on The Many Faces of the American Indian:

1. Is America's responsibility for taking Native American lands through treaties mitigated by the fact that White Americans and Native Americans started from different cultural assumptions of land ownership?

2. Should "Indians" stay on reservations and develop them or move to cities seeking urban jobs? What other alternatives are there?

3. Why do you think Native Americans have the lowest income and worst health standards if they are wards of the government under the Bureau of Indian Affairs of the Department of the Interior? Has the government fulfilled its responsibilities? What responsibilities should the government have?

4. What have Native Americans contributed to America?

   A White man might say cultivation of corn, squash, potatoes, tobacco, rubber, tomatoes, the turkey, etc. What would a Native American say? (Land - the whole thing!)

5. Because of the growing interest of young Whites in Ecology and the Natural Environment, Native Americans are becoming new culture heroes, who are seen as closer to nature than the White man. Native Americans reject this new view even though Whites, alienated by urban industrialized America, feel they are being complimentary. Can you guess why?

35. HOPE HAS LITTLE MEANING FOR THE BLACKFEET

by Steven V. Roberts

(Concept: Alienation)

"Jenny was 18 years old, a high school senior in the dusty hamlet of Browning, capital of the Blackfoot Indian Nation. An honor student, she had been accepted by the University of Wyoming and expected to start there in the fall.

One night recently, before going to bed, Jenny took an over-dose of her mother's tranquilizers. When the girl did not get up by noon, her mother went in to wake her and found her dead.

"Jenny's mother has always been bitter, almost paranoid," said Mrs. Gayle Himmel, the wife of the town's Methodist minister, as she struggled for an explanation. "The family split up a year ago, and Jenny's father remarried.

"Not even her best friend knew she was going to do it. If someone had only told her, 'It's all right if your mother and daddy don't love each other; you can live because you're significant.' But it's hard for Blackfeet to expose themselves, to confide in each other. It was too much."

At least 50 times in the last year, Blackfeet youngsters have tried to commit suicide. About half a dozen, like Jenny, have succeeded.

With about 6,000 Indians on the reservation, the suicide rate is 100 per 100,000, or 10 times the rate for Americans as a whole. Moreover, Indian suicides are most common among adolescents, while nationally the suicide rate increases with age.

Why is this happening? The possible answers give some idea of what life is like not only for the Blackfeet, but also for many of the Indians living in the United States today.

The explanation, according to most experts, starts with the history of the Blackfeet, a tribe of fierce warriors who roamed the western plains in search of the life-sustaining buffalo.

In 1851 they were restricted to this reservation in north central Montana, with the Rockies bordering them on the west and Canada on the north.

By the mid-1870's, the vast buffalo herds had been destroyed. Hunger and disease threatened to wipe out the tribe. From then on, the Blackfeet became dependent on the White man's Government for survival.

Mechanization has gradually eliminated many of the ranching and agricultural jobs once available to the Indians, and few industries have been attracted to the area. In any case, many Indians remain untrained for skilled jobs.

Thus today, the unemployment rate among the Blackfeet approaches 50 percent. During the winter, when the temperature may reach 50 degrees below zero, 80 percent of the people must rely on some form of Government assistance. Practically every commercial enterprise on the reservation is owned by a white man.

Many Indians live in squalid shacks that look as though they had been transported out of the Dust Bowl of the Depression. About one-third have no indoor plumbing, and the water is frequently so contaminated no one can drink it. Only one street in the entire town is paved.

Browning, with more than 2,000 people, is the only town of any size on the reservation, which covers one and a half million acres of rolling plains and foothills. Dust from the rutted streets seems to cling to the drab frame buildings, emphasizing the faded and listless quality of life.

In the evening, teen-agers jam a makeshift pool hall harshly lit by naked bulbs, or cruise the four or five blocks of down-town in old cars. Only an occasional stop at a gasoline station or at a drugstore to read movie magazines punctuates their boredom.

The first victim of this life is pride. Robert Howard, a Blackfoot who runs the local antipoverty program, explained:

"Pride at one time was the measure of an Indian, and these people try to maintain pride. But how do you maintain it when you have no job, a lousy home, and no prospects for the future? Finally you have to go to the welfare agencies or the tribe for help, and that hurts more than anything."

As pride and hope have vanished, the Blackfeet have turned to liquor.

"I guess," said Robert Tailfeathers, a 17-year-old high school student, "that a lot of people want to get rid of their troubles, so they go out and drink. There's nothing else to do."

The result has been the disintegration of the family unit. Marriages break up at an alarming rate.

The situation is aggravated by the yawning generation gap in many Indian families.

"The old people refuse to live in this world," said Irwin Chattin, an employment counselor for the antipoverty program. "The youngsters know they're in this world--they see it every day in public schools and on TV.

"In the old days everyone was in the same boat; they didn't know what the outside world was like. Now the youngsters see things that they want on TV, and they see other kids doing things and going places. But these kids here know they're not going anywhere."

"What we have here is the almost total alienation of the child from the family," said Jim Racine, an Indian who is studying, when he has the money, for a doctorate in anthropology.

"There always used to be a place where children could go and tell their problems. But the adults are embittered, frustrated, and anxious--it's become almost a cultural pattern--and the kids have nowhere to turn."

But the plight of Blackfoot youngsters goes even deeper. What pervades this town is a feeling of shame, to the point of self-loathing.

In many, often little ways the Indian cannot escape the feeling of the outside world that he is inferior. Even in Browning, the Government officials live in their own compound completely separated from the life of the town.

Alvina Kennedy is a pretty and articulate senior at the high school. She wants to go to a four-year college, but she cannot convince herself that she is "ready" for it.

"We're always downgraded because we're Indians," she said, twisting her hands together and gazing out the window.

"The popular culture is always telling them that Indians are dirty and shiftless, and we tend to see ourselves as others see us," said Darrel Armentrout, a guidance counselor at the high school. "These kids watch TV and keep asking me why the hell can't the Indian win once in a while. Boy, it sure tickles them when you talk about Custer."

Many young people want desperately to leave. Some make it, but the success rate is very low. Many lack the money or the skills to settle in a new area.

They run into constant discrimination in trying to find a job or a friend. Used to rural life, they have trouble adjusting to the urban areas where most jobs are found.

As a result, even those with good educations often flee back to the reservation. "At least here," said one Indian, "we feel safe."

Thus many young Indians face, as one put it, "a blank wall." They are suspended between two worlds and are part of neither.

The old world of the Indian is crumbling, and the new world of the White rejects them. They are ashamed and frustrated with their lives. Hope is a word that has little meaning.

"It has been said that man can stand any 'how' if he has a 'why,' said Mrs. Himmel, the minister's wife. "But these kids have no why."

Many people here blame the Bureau of Indian Affairs for much of the Blackfeet's plight. The paternalistic attitude of the agency, they feel, has helped rob the Indian of self-confidence or the resources to better his lot.

Noralf Neset, supervisor of the bureau here, defends his men as having a "missionary" zeal--hardly the attitude the Indians find acceptable. But he also acknowledges that grave mistakes have been made.

"Indians have been subjected to pressures and policies formulated to make them act like white men," said Mr. Neset, who has spent almost 40 years with the bureau. "They were never consulted about whether they wanted to accept white culture or not. But now they're starting to express themselves and say they want to maintain their positions as Indians."

What can be done? Experts here agree that more industries should be brought in, that the tribe's finances should be better managed, that training programs should be expanded, and that reliance on the white man must ultimately end. But the most important problem remains the Indian's self-image.

"I don't know how you put pride back into people," said a young antipoverty worker. "But the Indians could solve many of their problems if they believed they could solve them.

Discussion Questions on Hope Has Little Meaning for the Blackfeet:

1. Why do you think this story is entitled, "Hope Has Little Meaning for the Blackfeet"?

2. Why do you think that the suicide rate for Native Americans is ten times that of Whites?

3. How did White westward expansion under the doctrine of Manifest Destiny change the way of life of the plains Indian?

4. Why is unemployment so high?

5. Why is housing so poor?

6. How is Native American pride wounded by government agencies (like the Bureau of Indian Affairs)?

7. What is the "generation gap" and why is it exaggerated for Indians? What roles do television and magazines play in this process?

8. Why do some Native Americans feel caught between two worlds and part of neither?

9. The word Indian is a White man's designation for Native American. Why would most Native Americans describe themselves with a tribal name such as Blackfeet, Navaho or Hupa?

36. A BOARDING SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

(Concepts: Acculturation and Self-Image)

The mistreatment of the American Indian is lamented by most Americans. However, few people consider why they were excluded and why later they alienated themselves from American society. What reasons can you think of?

The following is from a book by Francis La Flesche, an Omaha Indian. The time is the 1860's.

A BOARDING SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

Among my earliest recollections are the instructions wherein we were taught respect and courtesy toward our elders; to say "thank you" when receiving a gift, or when returning a borrowed article; to use the proper and conventional term of relationship when speaking to another; and never to address any one by his personal name; we were also forbidden to pass in front of persons sitting in the tent without first asking permission; and we were strictly enjoined never to stare at visitors, particularly strangers. To us there seemed to be no end to the things we were obliged to do, and to the things we were to refrain from doing.

From the earliest years the Omaha child was trained in the grammatical use of his native tongue. No slip was allowed to pass uncorrected, and as a result there was no child-talk such as obtains among English-speaking children--the only difference between the speech of old and young was in the pronunciation of words which the infant often failed to utter correctly, but this difficulty was soon overcome, and a boy of ten or twelve was apt to speak as good Omaha as a man of mature years.

Like the grown folk, we youngsters were fond of companionship and of talking. In making our gamesticks and in our play, we chattered incessantly of the things that occupied our minds, and we thought it a hardship when we were obliged to speak in low tones while older people were engaged in conversation. When we entered the Mission School, we experienced a greater hardship, for there we encountered a rule that prohibited the use of our own language, which rule was rigidly enforced with a hickory rod, so that the new-comer, however socially inclined, was obliged to go about like a little dummy until he had learned to express himself in English.

All the boys in our school were given English names, because their Indian names were difficult for the teachers to pronounce. Besides, the aboriginal names were considered by the missionaries as heathenish, and therefore should be obliterated. No less heathenish in their origin were the English substitutes, but the loss of their origin were the English substitutes, but the loss of their original meaning and significance through long usage had rendered them fit to continue as appellations for civilized folk. And so, in the place of Tae-noo-ga-wa-zhe, came Philip Sheridan; in that of Wa-pah-dae, Ulysses S. Grant; that of Koo-we-he-ge-ra, Alexander, and so on. Our sponsors went even further back in history, and thus we had our David and Jonathon, Gideon and Isaac, and, with the flood of these new names, came Noah. It made little difference to us that we had to learn the significance of one more word as applied to ourselves, when the task before us was to make our way through an entire strange language. So we learned to call each other by our English names, and continued to do so even after we left school and had grown to manhood.

... The misconception of Indian life and character so common among white people has been largely due to an ignorance of the Indian's language, of his mode of thought, his beliefs, his ideals, and his native institutions. Every aspect of the Indian and his manner of life has always been strange to the white man, and this strangeness has been magnified by the mists of prejudice and the conflict of interests between the two races. While these in time may disappear, no native American can ever cease to regret that the utterances of his father have been constantly belittled when put into English, that their thoughts have frequently been travessed and their native dignity obscured. The average interpreter has generally picked up his knowledge of English in a random fashion, for very few have ever had the advantage of a thorough education, and all have had to deal with the difficulties that attend the translator.

... Most of the country now known as the State of Nebraska (the Omaha name of the river Platt, descriptive of its shallowness, width, and low banks) had for many generations been held and claimed by our people as their own, but when they ceded the greater part of this territory to the United States government, they reserved only a certain tract for their own use and home.

... The white people speak of the country at this period as "a wilderness," as though it were an empty tract without human interest or history. To us Indians it was as clearly defined then as it is today; we knew the boundaries of tribal lands, those of our friends and those of our foes; we were familiar with every stream, the contour of every hill, and each peculiar feature of the landscape had its tradition. It was our home, the scene of our history, and we loved it as our country.

Discussion Questions on A Boarding School Experience:

1. How did the boarding school attempt to Americanize Francis La Flesche?

2. In what ways would his experience resemble that of a Mexican American?

3. In what ways did the White and Indian ways of looking at life differ?

4. Why did not the Indian fit the American mold?

5. Would he fit your definition of an American?

Exploration of Feelings from A Boarding School Experience:

1. How did Francis feel in such a school, uprooted from his traditional culture?

2. The teacher should list the adjectives on the board.

3. Have you ever felt that way?

4. Under what circumstances did your feelings occur?

37. INQUIRY: CUSTER'S LAST STAND

Making Generalizations and Interpretations from Facts

(Concept: Historical Perspectives)

Suppose that you are a historian in the year 1900. You have been given only the following facts: On June 25, 1876, Colonel George Custer and 260 of his men were all killed at the Little Big Horn, Montana, by Sioux Indians.

Your job is to find out what happened at that battle. List ten things you would do to find out what happened.

To the Teacher: After students have made individual lists, the teacher would make a list on the board compiling all the suggestions of the students. Generally there will be about twenty from the class. The teacher could then list or pass out some dittoed facts that the students might have found out in their research. The students could then be asked to write an essay stating their opinion based on the facts from research. Useful books for the teacher are Humphrey's Custer's Last Stand based on interviews with Sioux Indians who survived the battle and Karl Steckmesser's The Western Hero in History and Legend which discusses the various interpretations of Custer.

To the Student: If you researched Custer's defeat you might find out the following facts. Write an essay explaining what you believe happened at the Battle of the Little Big Horn.

1. From Custer's memoirs you might learn that he considered himself an expert Indian fighter. You might infer from the fact that he published an autobiography that he wanted to be famous.
2. From a study of army records from Custer's earlier service you would learn that he was punished several times for disobeying orders, for not chasing Indians who had killed some of his men, and for shooting deserters in the back.
3. From a study of Custer's record at West Point, you would learn that he graduated at the bottom of his class academically and that he was only a few demerits short of being expelled.
4. From a study of Custer's orders for June 25, 1876, you would learn that he was directed to wait for the arrival of General Terry before engaging the Indians.
5. From interviews with Indians still living in 1900 who remember the battle, you would learn that the Sioux had gathered the largest group of Indians ever assembled on the Plains on June 25, 1876. You would also learn that Custer was known among the Indians for his attack on villages where only women and children were.

Activities

1. Look at your American history textbook and also at two encyclopedias. What interpretation of Custer do they give?
2. Write an account of Custer's defeat from the point of view of an Indian historian.

Discussion Questions on Inquiry: Custer's Last Stand:

1. Custer was trying to pacify the Indians of the West. What does the term pacification mean to White Americans? To Indians? In what areas of the world are Americans attempting to "pacify" people today? Discuss the word "pacify" as a euphemism.

2. An Indian author wrote a book addressed to White (Paleface) Americans. The Book's title is Custer Died for Your Sins. What does the title imply about Custer and his role as a U.S. soldier in winning the West? What analogy is the author trying to draw? Is the analogy valid?

3. With whom do you identify in the story of Custer? Custer or the Indians? Why? Who were the "good guys"? How do history writers contribute to our views of good (read "Great") guys? Can historians' bias be submerged?

4. If westward expansion were proceeding in the 1970's rather than 1870's, Custer might have been called an Imperialist by Indians. Would such a charge have been plausible?

5. "Lone Ranger and Tonto go riding out on the plains. Suddenly huge numbers of armed Indian warriors appear in a great cloud of dust to the left, right, back, and front. Lone Ranger turns to Tonto and says in a voice taut with emotion "This looks like the end, Kimosabe, what should we do? Tonto surveys the assembled multitude and replies, "What do you mean we Kimosabe?" Use joke to explore identity crisis, self-image, perception of others, social context out of which identity is formed. On what assumptions about Tonto and expectations of his behavior is the humor of this joke founded? Who is the boss, Lone Ranger or Tonto? Compare with Robinson Crusoe and Friday.

38. PROCLAMATION: TO THE GREAT WHITE FATHER AND ALL HIS PEOPLE

(Concept: Assertion of Identity)

We, the Native Americans, re-claim the land known as Alcatraz Island in the name of all American Indians by right of discovery.

We wish to be fair and honorable in our dealings with the Caucasian inhabitants of this land and hereby offer the following treaty:

We will purchase said Alcatraz Island for twenty-four dollars (24) in glass beads and red cloth, a precedent set by the white man's purchase of a similar island about 300 years ago. We know that $24 in trade goods for these 16 acres is more than was paid when Manhattan Island was sold, but we know that land values have risen over the years. Our offer of $1.24 per acre is greater than the 47 cents per acre the white men are now paying the California Indians for their land.

We will give to the inhabitants of this island a portion of the land for their own to be held in trust by the American Indian Affairs and by the Bureau of Caucasian Affairs to hold in perpetuity - for as long as the sun shall rise and the rivers go down to the sea. We will further guide the inhabitants in the proper way of living. We will offer them our religion, our education, our life-ways, in order to help them achieve our level of civilization, and thus raise them and all their white brothers up from their savage and unhappy state. We offer this treaty in good faith and wish to be fair and honorable in our dealings with all white men.

We feel that this so-called Alcatraz Island is more than suitable for an Indian reservation, as determined by the white man's standards. By this we mean that this place resembles most Indian reservations in that:

1. It is isolated from modern facilities and without adequate means of transportation.
2. It has no fresh running water.
3. It has inadequate sanitation facilities.
4. There are no oil or mineral rights.
5. There is no industry and unemployment is very great.
6. The soil is rocky and non-productive, and the land does not support game.
7. There are no health care facilities.
8. There are no educational facilities.
9. The population has always exceeded the land base.
10. The population has always been held as prisoners and kept dependent upon others.

Further it would be fitting and symbolic that ships from all over the world, entering the Golden State, would first see Indian land, and thus be reminded of the true history of this nation. This tiny island would be a symbol of the great lands once ruled by free and noble Indians.

Group Assignment on the Proclamation: To the Great White Father and All His People:

1. Divide the class into 4 groups to discuss the use of IRONY and sardonic humor to comment on Native American treatment at the hands of the White man. What are the elements of this humor?

2. Each group should discuss and report back to the larger group answers to the following questions:

3. Do you think that the Alcatraz seizure created friends for Native Americans? (Role play different White responses).

39. ASIAN AMERICAN IDENTITY

Quoted from the Preface of Roots: An Asian American Reader

"Identity is a question to which we return time and again. It is never neatly solved and incorporated into the computation of other variables. Identity is crucial to ideology and action - central to the problem of self-determination at any level. The Asian who 'identifies' White (or anything other than what he is) faces the insurmountable problem of his physical makeup.

A few, tortured by their inability to make sense of a crazy world of color, choose to destroy themselves in drugs and/or blind hostility. The rest ... endure a lifetime of alienation and uncertainty marked by an intuitive sense of powerlessness..."

40. "BUT WHY THIS DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE CHINESE?"

(Concepts: Overt Racism and Stereotypes)

If we continue to permit the introduction of this strange people, with their peculiar civilization, until they form a considerable part of our population, what is to be the effect upon the American people and Anglo-Saxon civilization? Can the two civilizations endure side by side as two distinct and hostile forces? . . . Can they meet half way, and so merge in a mongrel race, half Chinese and half Caucasian, as to produce a civilization half pagan, half Christian, semi-oriental, altogether mixed and very bad?

... The presence of the Chinese has produced a labor system which is unique; at least different from that of any other part of the United States. This is seen in the wandering, unsettled habits of white farm laborers, who, forced into competition with the Chinese, have been compelled to adopt their nomadic habit . . .

The new element in American society called the "hoodlum" is the result of Chinese competition in the manufacturing districts in California, by which young people of both sexes are driven to idleness in the streets. Strange and incurable maladies, loathsome and infectious diseases have been introduced which no medical skill can circumscribe or extirpate, and the stupefying, destructive, opium habit is steadily increasing among our people . . .

During the late depression in business affairs which existed for three or four years in California, while thousands of white men and women were walking the streets, begging and pleading for an opportunity to give their honest labor for any wages, the great streamers . . . discharged at the wharves of San Francisco their accustomed cargoes of Chinese . . .

They (the Chinese) never change or abandon their habits or methods no matter what their surroundings may be. They herd together like beasts in places where white men could not live; they clothe themselves in the cheapest raiment as they could have done in China, subsist on cheap food imported for their use and the refuse of our markets . . .

But why this discrimination against the Chinese? It was because they are unfit for the responsibilities, duties, and privileges of American citizenship . . . If they should be admitted to citizenship then there would be a new element introduced into the governing power of this nation, which would be the most venal, irresponsible, ignorant, and vicious of all the bad elements which have been infused into the body-politic - an element disloyal to American institutions, inimical to republican liberty, scornful of American civilization, not fit for self-government and unfit to participate in the government of others - a people destitute of conscience or the moral sense . . . They would esteem the suffrage only for the money they could make out of it.

Senator Miller, Congressional Record, XIII, Part 2, 1481-86.
This speech was read on February 28, 1882.

Discussion Questions on "But Why This Discrimination Against the Chinese?"

1. How would Senator Miller answer this question: Should immigration to the United States be restricted?

2. What evidence does he present to support his views? Do you think this evidence gives a logical and scientific explanation of the problem? What words influenced you most?

3. What attitudes toward people are evident in this speech?

4. Do you think the United States would benefit or suffer from following Senator Miller's argument? Why?

5. Do you think that a U. S. Senator could make a racist speech today? If he couldn't make such a speech about Asian Americans do you think he could about Asians in Vietnam?

41. ANTI-JAPANESE PROPAGANDA OF THE 1920's

(Concept: Overt Racism)

1. "The Time Has Arrived To Eliminate The Japs As California Landholders" by Senator J. M. Inman

2. The "Swat the Jap" campaign of the early twenties produced the following leaflet *Quoted in Roger Daniels, The Politics of Prejudice, 97.

JAPS

You came to care for lawns,
    we stood for it
You came to work in truck gardens,
    we stood for it
You sent your children to our public schools,
    we stood for it
You moved a few families in our midst,
    we stood for it
You proposed to build a church in our neighborhood
    BUT
WE DIDN'T and WE WON'T STAND FOR IT
You impose more on us each day
    until you have gone your limit
WE DON'T WANT YOU WITH US
SO GET BUSY, JAPS, AND
GET OUT OF HOLLYWOOD

3. For 50 years there were few issues of the "Grizzly Bear" publication of the Native Sons of the Golden West which did not carry anti-Japanese articles and editorials. From the issues for January and June, 1920 *The Grizzly Bear (Official Publication of the Native Sons of the Golden West), January, 1920, June, 1920.

JAPAGRAPHS

(From The Grizzly)

Hurrah for Mrs. Anita Baldwin of Arcadia, Los Angeles County! She has notified fifty Jap families farming 700 acres of her land to vamoose. If every California landowner would think less of the dollar and more of the state's welfare, the Jap menace would soon be curbed in California.

As evidence that the Japs are heeding the advice of the "Japanese American" to speed up the Yamato race expansion, the birth record of Butte County is submitted: in three years fifty-one Jap women, mostly "picture brides," gave birth to ninety-seven children. A similar good production record can be shown by the Japs of every other county.

Discussion Questions on Anti-Japanese Propaganda of the 1920's

Japanese immigration to the U.S. began about 1900 and continued to the 1920's when restrictive immigration laws were passed excluding most Asians from coming to America. Japanese immigrants encountered anti-Asian feeling that had previously been directed at Chinese. Students should examine the examples of anti-Japanese propaganda.

1. Since this propaganda was not influenced by any war sentiment why do you think it is so unrelentingly hostile?

2. How does the word Jap differ from the word Japanese? What are the connotations of the word Jap? The teacher should write those words on the blackboard and ask the class whether any other group of people or any other group of people have good names and bad names? How important are names in showing how people are perceived by others?

3. How do stereotypes develop? How are they perpetuated in movies, television, radio, and stories? Can you give any examples of Asian American stereotypes in the mass media?

   For example a recent newspaper article showed a Japanese American being hit on the head by his wife with a 2 x 4 so he could raise a bump. The article said he had a burning desire to become a policeman but could not pass the height requirement.

   What stereotyped responses about Japanese did this new article conjure up? (Do Asians feel pain like Whites?) Was this man's behavior typical of Japanese people?

   Is a ruling, that a man has to be a certain height which systematically excludes men of Asian descent, racist?

4. How important does the issue of land ownership appear to be?

   Laws were passed in California which restricted land ownership by Japanese.

42. AMERICA'S CONCENTRATION CAMPS

by Allan R. Bosworth

(Concept: Overt Racism)

Japanese American Relocation and Internment During World War II

> In 1942 after the start of the war with Japan, the U.S. government began to relocate Japanese Americans, both citizens and aliens, from the west coast to camps further from the coast, where it was feared Japanese Americans would engage in sabotage. Although there were no incidents of sabotage, almost no protest was raised against this treatment of the Japanese. A further irony is that in Hawaii, which was much closer to the battlefront, no Japanese were relocated. The following excerpts show the human suffering involved in the relocation.

Sam Yoshimura was ten. He was riding his bike that Sunday morning in the small California community of Florin, and another Nisei lad ran out of his house to shout:

"Sam! Hey, Sam! The Japs have attacked Pearl Harbor!"

Sam Yoshimura didn't know what a pearl harbor was, but he sensed something dread and ominous about the news. He knew the word "Japs" was unkind and ugly and had to do with his father's people across the sea, but he didn't quite see how it applied to himself. When Sam repeated the pledge of allegiance to the flag, at school, he felt no different than other American boys.

Now he turned and pedaled soberly back home, not knowing what was in store for himself and his family, but somehow suspecting. He vowed that when he was big enough, he'd join the Army and fight "the Japs."

John Kimata was fourteen, and lived in South Pasadena. On Monday, December 8th, he played hookey from school because he was fearful of what his classmates would say. When he went back Tuesday, nobody treated him any differently. It took time, in South Pasadena and some other places, for the hate fuse to sputter and burn. Eventually, one evening, rocks and eggs were thrown at John Kimata's house.

Sam Yoshimura and John Kimata were both too young to fight in that war. But they were not too young to be listed by an Army General, two months later, as "among the potential enemies, of Japanese extraction," on the West Coast. They would go behind barbed wire with more than 110,000 other "potential enemies." Sam would have to sell his bicycle, since nothing could be taken to the Assembly Centers that couldn't be carried by hand....

Anxieties and fears increased proportionately with age and understanding. George Suzuki was home from college for the weekend. Early in the morning of December 7th, a friend telephoned him.

"George? I'm back from a hunting trip and have lots of ammunition left. Let's drive up into the hills and have some target practice."

They went into the hills near the Federal prison at Folsom and banged away for a while with rifles, shotguns and pistols - and then they heard the news on the car radio.

Both were mature enough to know that the veritable arsenal in the car would look bad, indeed, if they were stopped. George Suzuki remembers that he and his friend were scared out of seven years' growth, and that they drove home very, very, carefully.

Mine Okubo, an artist living in San Francisco's East Bay, was just back from a year in Europe on an art fellowship from the University of California. She heard the news that morning and turned to her brother.

"Oh-oh!" she said. "We're in trouble!"

In San Francisco, a Kibei named Shirow Uyeno, the editor of the New World Sun, a bilingual English Japanese daily, had just put his paper to bed, with the front page play devoted to President Roosevelt's message to the Japanese Emperor. Telephone calls began coming in from staff members who were home listening to their radios.

"Don't joke!" Uyeno pleaded.

They were not joking. Uyeno had to stop the press and replate for an extra. In doing this, hy translated a radio bulletin from Honolulu that said Japanese Paratroops were dropping into the city. Thus, unintentionally, he helped spread false rumors.

It was quite awhile before a newspaperman could get much else....

Even in its first few hours, the still undeclared war in the Pacific began to disrupt the lives and fortunes of all the people of Japanese blood.

John Yoshino and his family ran a cleaning plant in Alameda. John was a quiet and studious man, older than most Nisei. Although he had an excellent reputation, by Monday he could not draw any money out of his bank account. Bank credits of all Japanese Americans had been frozen by Federal order. The Yoshinos could not pay their employees. Customers began taking their dry cleaning elsewhere. The business failed.

Just south of Oakland, Yoshimi Shibata and his four brothers, who ran the Mount Eden Nursery, had begun Sunday in their usual fashion - with a careful inspection of the rose bushes in their large greenhouse. They had 80,000 rose bushes growing in pots; their gross receipts were around $60,000 a year. They were artists in the trade, and could either accelerate the blooming of their flowers for such events as Pasadena's famed Tournament of the Roses or could "blink out" the plants through a period of hibernation, and cause them to bloom on a desired date.

The news of Pearl Harbor threw a chill into the Mount Eden greenhouses even before the steam heat was shut down. The Shibata brothers did not know whether to accelerate or retard the growth of their plants. On the next day, their bank account was frozen by government order. They had to let workers go. Even worse, the FBI had picked up their wholesale distributor in Los Angeles, so they could not sell what they had on hand.

A thriving business quickly went under. The people who leased the greenhouses while the Shibatas were in an internment camp did not know how to take care of them or how to grow roses. Later, the five Shibata brothers all enlisted in the U.S. Army and fought overseas. Later still, they came back and filed a claim against Uncle Sam for $336,000.

This was only a part of what they had lost, and the average rate of reimbursement on such claims (the last one was settled in October, 1965) has been estimated at approximately ten cents on the dollar. . . .

Warren Watanabe's father, an Issei who had been in this country since the early 1900's, was a college graduate and was a representative of the Japanese Foreign Trade association in San Francisco. This well-known organization was admittedly subsidized in part by the Imperial Japanese Government, perhaps in a way no more sinister than various federal agencies in Washington promote our own foreign trade: Japan, in other words, wanted American dollars.

The senior Wantanabe was arrested on December 7 and sent to Missoula, Montana, for internment. (Some of the people who were confined there called Missoula the coldest spot in the United States.) His office was padlocked, and he had no time to dispose of his personal property. His son, Warren, sold the family car, but he got less for it than he might have because it had been stored in a public garage after his father was picked up, and somebody had removed the four new tires and replaced them with badly worn ones.

Warren Watanabe was in his third year at the University of California, with nearly a straight A scholastic record. His father had no hearing, but was offered an opportunity to be repatriated to Japan and sail on the Swedish liner Gripsholm with the Japanese ambassadorial and consular staffs. After what happened, he saw no future in America and accepted the offer.

Warren was sent to the Relocation Center at Topaz, Utah, and later was released to continue his education - not at University of California, which was in the restricted zone, but at the University of Chicago.

Mike Masaoka, reared in the Mormon Church of the Latter Day Saints in Salt Lake City, was about as American as anybody could be, and twice as sharp as most. He was early hailed as a prodigy, breezed through college, and became the underpaid secretary of the then young Japanese American Citizens League.

Mike Masaoka wrote the Japanese American creed in 1940 to inspire the Nisei to be better citizens. It was first read to the Senate by U.S. Senator Elbert D. Thomas of Utah, then Chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, and was published in the Congressional Record of May 9, 1941. It was an expression of patrotism that sustained thousands of Nisei during the difficult days of the Evacuation; it was the Bible for the heroes of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. It remains the creed of the Japanese American Citizens League today. It reads:

> I am proud that I am an American citizen of Japanese ancestry, for my very background makes me appreciate more fully the wonderful advantages of this nation. I believe in her institutions, ideals and traditions; I glory in her heritage; I boast of her history; I trust in her future. She has granted me liberties and opportunities such as no individual enjoys in this world today. She has given me an education befitting kings. She has entrusted me with the responsibilities of the franchise. She has permitted me to build a home, to earn a livelihood, to worship, think, speak and act as I please - as a free man equal to every other man.
>
> Although some individuals may discriminate against me, I shall never become bitter or lose faith, for I know that such persons are not representative of the majority of the American people. True, I shall do all in my power to discourage such practices, but I shall do it in the American way - above board, in the open, through courts of law, by education, by proving myself to be worthy of equal treatment and consideration. I am firm in my belief that American sportsmanship and attitude of fair play will judge citizenship and patriotism on the basis of action and achievement, and not on the basis of physical characteristics.

> Because I believe in America, and I trust she believes in me, and because I have received innumerable benefits from her, I pledge myself to do honor to her at all times and all places; to support her constitution; to obey her law; to respect her flag; to defend her against all enemies, foreign and domestic; to actively assume my duties and obligations as a citizen, cheerfully and without any reservations whatsoever, in the hope that I may become a better American in a greater America.

Mike Masaoka and thousands of other Nisei kept their faith under this creed. The American government betrayed them.

Mike went to North Platte, Nebraska, on December 7, 1941, to make a talk to Japanese Americans there - the descendants of those three hundred Issei who used to ice the refrigerator cars on transcontinental express trains. The North Platte authorities said, "We are at war with Japan," and promptly threw him into jail - under no actual charge, at all.

Such arrests were common for several weeks. The Mountain States wanted none of the Japanese. After three days, Mike was finally permitted to get in touch with Utah's U.S. Senator Elbert D. Thomas (mentioned previously). Then his jailors unlocked his cell door with a begrudging but wholesome respect, and said, "Well, you must be all right, when a U.S. Senator vouches for you!"

A little later the Army in California sent Mike, his five brothers, and their widowed mother to internment camps, where Mike's faith in American ideals and benefits was put to a severe test, indeed. As a leader of the Japanese American Citizens League, he was allowed to do considerable traveling east of the military zone to help loyal Nisei resettle. He was still arrested frequently, sometimes as an enemy spy. He worked tirelessly for the right of the Nisei to bear arms in defense of their country, and this brought him a measure of fame across the Pacific. Radio Tokyo called him Japan's Number One enemy and said he would be the first American hanged when the Japanese fleet steamed into San Francisco Bay.

When enlistments were finally permitted, Mike Masaoka was the first of all the Nisei to volunteer for the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. Four of his brothers also joined up, while their mother remained in the Manzanar Relocation Center.

Ben Frank Masaoka was killed in October, 1944, in the fight to rescue the Lost Texas Battalion. Sergeant Akira Ike Masaoka was so gravely wounded that he is still a hundred percent disabled. Mike Masaoka, Private Henry Masaoka, and Private Tadashi T. Masaoka all were wounded.

Among them, the Masaoka boys collected more than thirty medals for bravery in action....

Another, and older, man was doing some writing in Los Angeles, and in the Santa Anita Assembly Center, and later in the Relocation Center at Gila, Arizona, where his wife died. He was an Issei who had learned English; he kept a journal in both languages because, "I may die before I can hear the ringing of a bell of Peace; if I do not write the detail of this distress to relatives in the old country nobody will because my two daughters could not write in Japanese very well." (One daughter was in her third year at the University of California; the other had entered Los Angeles Junior College.)

We will call the writer of this journal "Mr. H."

> This action is against American Constitution, a black spot for Democracy, but Army paid no attention. I educated my daughters to be best citizens of U.S.A., and America is my resting place after I am deceased. I will purchase war bonds and stamps if my financial resources will permit, but Alas, the daughters - a typical American citizens - must face same music as Issei. I am Awfully disgusted. My sister, who was arrested by F.I.B. (sic) was released March 11 under police servilliance....
>
> We are now facing most disturbing and catastrophic situation, and we have not any solution. The West Coast Defence Commander General DeWitt issued the order of most merciless and ruthless one in all my life. The place we are going for temporary is famous race track, about twelve miles from Los Angeles.... Moving day was the most lamentable and sorrowful day in all our life on the Pacific Coast - our foundation, built by fifty years of hard toil and planning, was swept away by Army's Order. It was Awful Nightmare!. . . .
>
> I have had my chronic neuralgia coming back in this very unfortunate hour of evacuation. (My wife's) stomach troubles are getting worse for over-anxiety. If she eats, she vomits instantly. It may be symptom of Cancer, but I will not going to tell her what I am thinking. We have not time to consult with Doctor.
>
> We - everybody - ride the Buses. Fifty Buses altogether were guided by M.P. Soldiers to Santa Anita Race track. We reached there in forty minutes. The place was very strictly guarded; they have barbed wire fence, the soldiers with machine guns watch the gate with alertness. We have no chance to step out to outside world. We are prisoners of WAR!!
>
> Newly appointed police officers are very busy to examine our belongings, suitcases and boxes; everybody pretty near crazy to get their goods examined ahead of everybody. NO MANNERS AT ALL - I am Awfully disgusted. (My wife) complains her stomach is so painful. My Waist Line is still not so good yet. I worried how we could carry our belongings to our apartment or rooms. Just in time, Mr. W.K.'s son came and carried all our baggages to our temporary room - the stable. Then we went to the dining room, 3,000 capacity and were served Pork and Beans. We went back to our room and finally four of us lay on the bed for the night. It was eleven P.M. . . . .

The Army's roundup was thorough. George Enosaki, nineteen and just graduated from high school in Montana, drove his car out to California intending to go to work - and arrived just in time to be picked up with the rest. Nobody gave him a chance to return to the Montana home of his parents. He was able to sell the car, which had new tires, for a good price.

Sam Yoshimura, ten, from Florin, was all excited about going to the Assembly Center at Tanforan Race Track with his family - it would be, he thought, like camping out. Mine Okubo, the artist from Berkeley, was a little older and somewhat more sensitive to the fact of regimentation: she was given a number and was soon to be known as 13660. She had three days to prepare for the move to Tanforan. Her brother, in his last year at the University of California, had the same three days to make arrangements to protect his college record. It was now the first of May, and he would have gotten his B.A. degree in June. Nevertheless, he had to move.

> Mine Okubo and her brother went by bus to Tanforan and were searched for such things as knives and straight-edged razors and examined to see whether or not they had been vaccinated. They were assigned to Stable 16, Stall 50. The floor was covered with manure.
>
> After an hour of standing in the mess line, they finally got boiled potatoes and two slices of bread - the canned Vienna sausages had just run out.
>
> Fortunately, Mine Okubo's characteristically American sense of humor never did. She kept up her art work, despite difficulties, and in 1946 was able to bring out a book of sketches called Citizen 13660. She remembers, now, that after she and her brother had their skimpy supper, they were issued bed ticking bags and told to stuff them with straw. For a long time they sat on these, listening to the gradually subsiding murmur of hundred of bewildered people.
>
> "Then," says Mine Okubo, "we decided we might as well hit the hay."
>
> Accommodations at the Assembly Centers included milk stations, community showers, toilets, and laundries; each Center had a hospital and a post exchange.
>
> Some of thebpeople were flat broke by the time they were moved. They were given "nominal allowances" for incidentals in the form of coupon books. Any single adult was entitled to $2.50 per month, a married couple got $4, and children under sixteen received $1. The maximum for any family, even if it had seven or eight members, was $7.50.
>
> If the people could get jobs helping run the Assembly Center, as some did, they were paid. A doctor assigned to the Center hospital, for instance, earned $16 a month, which was top pay. Unskilled workers got $8; skilled workers received $12.

All of them had to put in forty-four hours a week to draw these salaries.

Down at Santa Anita, Mr. H. was writing in his journal:

> I took cook's job, pays only $12; my daughters, one a musical Department, the other at Paying Department. We thought the U.S. supplies everything at the camp and we don't need any money at all, but in due time we find this idea is absolutely wrong. The small salary we get from the jobs is not sufficient for my cigarettes or my daughters' necessities; the ready cash we carried from Los Angeles is getting low every day. If Peace will be restored in some future, I won't have any money left in my possession: this Problem worries me days and nights, but I don't have any idea for solution. . . . .

Many had put themselves on record as being "disloyal" because they feared being thrown out of the Centers. A common question was, "They can't force us out if we have signed for renunciation, can they?"

One Issei remarked:

> Put it this way. If you're a Caucasian, you take this matter of your loyalty record seriously and would never say anything to soil it. But if you're a Japanese and nobody believes your loyalty in this country anyway, you'll think about your future and your family. We are going to have our children renounce citizenship just to stay here. . . .

The government and the taxpayers were still paying the bill for the Evacuation in the fall of 1965, but not very much. Payments for property losses suffered by the evacuees were still being made seventeen years after legislation was passed authorizing the U.S. Attorney General to receive and adjudicate such claims. The average rate of the settlement was 10 percent of the amounts asked, based on the value of the 1941 dollar.

Nobody was ever paid a cent for losses due to death or personal injury, personal inconvenience, physical or mental hardships, or suffering. Neither was anyone every compensated for the money he might reasonably have been expected to earn from business profits or gainful employment during the period of detention.

In 1942, the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco estimated that the total loss to the evacuees would approximate $400,000,000. How closely the 10 percent rate of settlement followed this estimate is shown by the fact that when the last claim was adjudicated on October 1, 1965, the Government had authorized payment of $38,000,000 to 26,560 claimants.

Thirty-eight million dollars is a modest sum when viewed in the light of Lyndon B. Johnson's $112.8 billion budget for the fiscal year of 1966. But the total cost of the Evacuation was far from being modest.

> As for the separation of the loyal from the disloyal says Leonard J. Arrington, Professor of Economics at Utah State University, no one could possibly have believed that it would have cost more to have had the FBI individually investigate them and segregate the potentially disloyal than it cost the government to feed, clothe, house and guard all 110,000 of them in detention camps for the duration of the war.
>
> It is estimated that the cost of constructing the assembly centers and ten relocation centers was approximately $70,000,000, with virtually no salvage value. The estimated cost of maintaining the evacuees during the three years of detention was $150,000,000. The direct entire cost of the Evacuation, not counting the loss to the evacuees or thecloss to the country of the productive activities in which they would otherwise have engaged, was on the order of $350,000,000.

There have been other costs, not included in any of the above figures. They are smaller sums, but of a nature that tends to make a taxpayer's blood boil. For example:

In adjudicating the Evacuation claims during the single year of 1950, the Government spent $211,567 in administrative expenses. The average cost of adjudicating a single claim was more than $1,500. The average award per claim was only $440.

Discussion Questions on America's Concentration Camps:

1. Was the relocation of Japanese really based on military necessity?

2. To what extent did prejudice help in public approval of the relocation?

3. Was the racially mixed population of Hawaii an explanation for why Hawaii did not relocate its Japanese population? Is a racially mixed population less likely to be prejudiced?

4. Why did the Japanese not become extremely bitter about their experience?

5. Reread Mike Masaoka's Japanese American Creed. Discuss why you think that he felt it necessary to write a creed.

6. Was it legal for the government to order the Japanese to leave the west coast? Find out what the Supreme Court decided about whether the evacuation and dentention were legal.

7. Debate: "Concentration Camps for a specific racial group were a necessary and proper suspension of habeas corpus justified by wartime dangers and the need to protect against spies."

8. How would you explain the fact that the U.S. invasion of Europe was turned over to a man with a distinct German name? (Eisenhower). Could you imagine a man with a Japanese name being given command of U.S. forces for the invasion of Japan? Why wasn't Joe DiMaggio's father, who was an Italian alien put in a concentration camp at the beginning of World War II? Does racism provide the answer?

9. Suppose a child had one parent who was Japanese American and one who was White American. Do you think that the government decision would have been to place the child and/or family in the concentration camp? Why? or Why not?

AMERICA'S CONCENTRATION CAMPS

(Concept: Selective Perception)

Congressional Committee Hearings, February 21st and 23rd, 1942:*

THE CHAIRMAN. Tell us about the DiMaggios. Tell us about DiMaggio's father.

MR. TRAMUTOLO. Neither of the DiMaggio seniors is a citizen: They have reared nine children, five boys and four girls, eight of whom were born in the United States and the other one is a naturalized citizen. Three of the boys are outstanding persons in the sports world. Joe, who is with the Yanks, was leading hitter for both the American and National Leagues during the years 1939 and 1940. His younger brother Dominic is with the Boston Red Sox and his other brother, Vincent, is with the Pittsburgh team of the National League. All three are so outstanding in their profession that their record is well known to every sports follower. With the DiMaggio children and grandchildren they are a sizable number and if you could have attended, as I did, the wedding of Joe DiMaggio here a few years ago, you would have some realization of the size of the DiMaggio clan. The senior DiMaggios, though noncitizens, are as loyal as anyone could be.

THE CHAIRMAN. What is the older DiMaggio's occupation?

MR. TRAMUTOLO. DiMaggio, Sr., is a fisherman and his two older boys, Tom and Michael, are also fishermen . . . To evacuate the senior DiMaggios would, in view of the splendid family they have reared and their unquestioned loyalty, present, I am sure you will agree with me, a serious situation. Many of the people affected by the existing order have boys and girls in the armed forces or some branch of the Government doing defense work. I believe that it would be destructive and have a tendency to lower morale, which all of us are interested in building up, if information should reach those in the armed forces that their relatives have been ordered to move out of this area because unfortunately they are not citizens.

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*National Defense Migration Hearings, part 29, 11128

43. "WORK, NOT WELFARE"

(Concept: "Model Minority")

Generalizations: The desire to view minority group as proving itself to be worthy of the larger, WHITE oriented, culture, can warp the perspective of the observer.

Or, as in this case, the intent to prove one point -- there is little excuse for welfare -- can cause devotees of the anti-welfare position to be blinded to the larger, more intimate, more real society under examination.

Material:

1. "Success Story of One Minority Group in U.S.", U.S. News and World Report, December 26, 1966.
2. Shirley Sun, "Flower Drum Song Is a Real Life Tragedy," The Sunday Ramparts, December 18-31, 1966
3. Herb Caen, "The Neon Ghetto," San Francisco Chronicle, April 8, 1965.
4. Will Connolly, "Chinatown," The Monitor, November 3, 1966.
5. Alan Wong, "Juvenile Delinquency in Chinatown," Address, May 10, 1963.
6. "The Other Side of Chinatown," Source unknown, but references to many studies preceding 1966.

Procedure:

1. Divide class into 6 groups, or give one group of 6 students the above readings as follows: A. One group (or 1 person) article number 1. Each other group a separate article, 2 through 6, above.
2. Have each group briefly discuss and summarize for itself the gist of its article.
3. Now have group #1 (article 1) report to the rest of the class.
4. Ask: Do any of the other groups have information that supports the first article? That will start things flying.

   Suggestion: After other groups refute article 1, put some of these groups findings on the board.

5. Other questions to ask:
   a) Why the discrepancy? What is U.S. News article really saying?
   b) Note the dates on the articles, especially the references (footnotes) for article 6. What kinds of conclusions can be drawn? (Someone didn't do his research -- all articles predate U.S. News report.)
   c) Can you determine the actual "state" of Chinatown from these articles? If not, what could you do to find out more accurately? (Visit? Census?)
6. What is Chinatown like today?
7. Where are Chinatowns (what cities)? Why?

#1

QUOTED FROM U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT
December 26, 1965

Reported from San Francisco, Los Angeles and New York.

At a time when Americans are awash in worry over the plight of racial minorities -

One such minority, the nation's 300,000 Chinese Americans, is winning wealth and respect by dint of its own hard work.

In any Chinatown from San Francisco to New York, you discover youngsters at grips with their studies. Crime and delinquency are found to be rather minor in scope.

Still being taught in Chinatown is the old idea that people should depend on their own efforts - not a welfare check - in order to reach America's "promised land."

Visit "Chinatown U.S.A." and you find an important racial minority pulling itself up from hardship and discrimination to become a model of self-respect and achievement in today's America.

At a time when it is being proposed that hundreds of billions be spent to uplift Negroes and other minorities, the nation's 300,000 Chinese Americans are moving ahead on their own - with no help from anyone else.

Low rate of crime. In crime-ridden cities, Chinese districts turn up as islands of peace and stability. Of 4.7 million arrests reported to the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1965, only 1,293 involved persons of Chinese ancestry. A Protestant pastor in New York City's Chinatown said: "This is the safest place in the city." Few Chinese Americans are getting welfare handouts - or even want them. Within a tight network of family and clan loyalties, relatives continue to help each other. Mrs. Jean Ma, publisher of a Chinese-language newspaper in Los Angeles, explained: "We're a big family. If someone has trouble, usually it can be solved within the family. There is no need to bother someone else. And nobody will respect any member of the family who does not work and who just plays around." Today, Chinese American parents are worrying somewhat about their young people. Yet, in every city, delinquency in Chinatown is minor compared with what goes on around it.

Strict discipline. Even in the age of television and fast automobiles Chinese American children are expected to attend school faithfully, work hard at their studies, and stay out of trouble. Spanking is seldom used, but supervision and verbal discipline are strict. A study of San Francisco's Chinatown noted that "if school performance is poor and the parents are told, there is an immediate improvement." And, in New York City, school teachers reportedly are competing for posts in schools with large numbers of Chinese American children. Recently Dr. T. Sollenberger, professor of psychology at Mount Holyoke College, made a study of New York City's Chinatown and concluded: "There's a strong incentive for young people to behave. As one informant said, 'When you walk around the streets of Chinatown, you have a hundred cousins watching you'." What you find, back of this remarkable group of Americans, is a story of adversity and prejudice that would check those now complaining about the hardships endured by today's Negroes. It was during California's gold rush that large numbers of Chinese began coming to America. On the developing frontier, they worked in mines, on railroads and in other hard labor. Moving into cities, where the vest occupations were closed to large numbers because they became laundrymen and cooks because of the shortage of women in the West.

Past handicaps. High value was placed on Chinese willingness to work long hours for low pay. Yet Congress, in 1882, passed an Exclusion Act denying naturalization to Chinese immigrants and forbidding further influx of laborers. A similar act in 1924, aimed primarily at the Japanese, prohibited laborers from bringing in wives. In California, the first legislature slapped foreign miners with a tax aimed at getting Chinese out of the gold-mining business. That State's highest court ruled Chinese could not testify against whites in court. Chinese Americans could not own land in California, and no corporation or public agency could employ them. These curbs, in general, applied also to Japanese Americans, another Oriental minority that has survived discrimination to win a solid place in the nation. The curbs, themselves, have been discarded in the last quarter century. And, in recent years, immigration quotas have been enlarged with 8,800 Chinese allowed to enter the country this year. As a result, the number of persons of Chinese ancestry living in the United States is believed to have almost doubled since 1950. Today, as in the past, most Chinese are to be found in Hawaii, California and New York. Because of ancient emphasis on family and village most of those on U.S. mainland trace their ancestry to communities southwest of Canton.

How Chinese get ahead. Not all Chinese Americans are rich. Many, especially recent arrivals from Hong Kong, are poor and cannot speak English. But the large majority are moving ahead by applying the traditional virtues of hard work, thrift and morality. Success stories have been recorded in business, science, architecture, politics, and other professions. Dr. Sollenberger said of New York's Chinatown: "The Chinese people here will work at anything. I know of some who were scholars in China and now working as waiters in restaurants. That's a stopgap for them, of course, but the point is that they're willing to do something - they don't sit around moaning." The biggest and most publicized of all Chinatowns is in San Francisco's population from 4.9 per cent to 5.7 per cent. Altogether, 42,600 residents of Chinese ancestry were reported in San Francisco last year.

Shift to surburbs. As Chinese Americans gain in affluence, many move to the surburbs. But about 30,000 persons live in the 25 blocks of San Francisco's Chinatown. Sixty-three per cent of these are foreign-born, including many who are being indoctorinated by relatives in the American way of life. Irvin Lum, an official of the San Francisco Federal Savings and Loan Community House, said: "We follow the custom of being good to our relatives. There is not a very serious problem with our immigrants. We're a people of ability, adaptable and easy to satisfy in material wants. I know of a man coming here from China who was looked after by his sister's family, worked in Chinatown for two years, then opened a small restaurant of his own." Problems among newcomers stir worries, however a minister said: "Many are in debt when they arrive. They have a language problem. They are used to a rural culture, and they have a false kind of expectation." A tough gang of foreign-born Chinese, known as "the Bugs" or "Tong San Tsai," clashes occasionally with a gang of Chinese American youngsters. And one group of Chinese American teen-agers was broken up after stealing as much as $5,800 a week in burglaries this year. Yet San Francisco has seen no revival of the "tong wars" or opium dens that led to the organizing of a "Chinese squad" of policemen in 1875. The last trouble between Chinese clans or "tongs" was before World War II. The special squad was abolished in 1956.

"Streets are safer." A University of California team making a three-year study of Chinatown in San Francisco reported its impression "that Chinatown streets are safer than most other parts of the city" despite the fact that it is one of the most densely populated neighborhoods in the United States. In 1965, not one San Francisco Chinese - young or old - was charged with murder, manslaughter, rape or an offense against wife or children. Chinese accounted for only two adult cases out of 252 of assault with a deadly weapon. Only one of San Francisco's Chinese youths, who comprise 17 per cent of the city's high-school enrollment, was among 118 juveniles arrested last year for assault with a deadly weapon. Meantime, 25 per cent of the city's semifinalists in the California State scholarship competition were Chinese. Most Chinese Americans continue to send their youngsters to Chinese schools for one or two hours a day so they can learn Chinese history, culture and in some cases - language. A businessman said: "I feel my kids are Americans, which is a tremendous asset. But they're also Chinese, which is another great asset. I want them to have and keep the best of both cultures." Much the same picture is found in mainland America's other big Chinatowns - Los Angeles and New York.

Riots of 1871. Los Angeles has a memory of riots in 1871 when white mobs raged through the Chinese section. Twenty-three Chinese were hanged, beaten, shot or stabbed to death. Today, 25,000 persons of Chinese ancestry live in Los Angeles County - 20,000 in the city itself. About 5,000 alien Chinese from Hong Kong and Formosa are believed to be in southern California. In Los Angeles, as elsewhere Chinese Americans are worrying about their children. Superior Judge Delbert E. Wong said: "Traditionally, the family patriarch ruled the household, and the other members of the family obeyed and followed without questioning his authority. As the Chinese become more Westernized, women leave the home to work and the younger generation finds greater mobility in seeking employment, we see greater problems within the family unit - and a corresponding increase in crime and divorce." A Chinese American clergyman complained that "the second and third-generation Chinese feel more at home with Caucasians. They don't know how to act around the older Chinese any more because they don't understand them."

The family unit. On the other hand, Victor Wong, president of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association in Los Angeles, said: "Basically, the Chinese are good citizens. The parents always watch out for the children, train them, send them to school and make them stay home after school to study. When they go visiting, it is as a family group. A young Chinese doesn't have much chance to go out on his own and get into trouble." A high-ranking police official in Los Angeles found little evidence of growing trouble among Chinese. He reported: "Our problems with the Chinese are at a minimum. This probably is due to strict parental supervision. There is still a tradition of respect for parents." New York City, in 1960, had a population of 32,831 persons of Chinese ancestry. Estimates today run considerably higher, with immigrants coming in at the rate of 200 or 300 a per month. Many Chinese Americans have moved to various parts of the city and to the suburbs. But newcomers tend to settle in Chinatown, and families of eight and ten have been found living in two-room apartments. "The housing shortage here is worse than in Harlem," one Chinese American said. Altogether, about 20,000 persons are believed living in the eight-block area of New York's Chinatown at present. The head of the Chinatown Planning Council said recently that, while most Chinese are still reluctant to accept public welfare, somewhat more are applying for it than in the past. "We are trying to let Chinese know that accepting public welfare is not necessarily the worst thing in the world," he said. However, a Chinese American banker in New York took this view: "There are at least 60 associations here whose main purpose is to help our own people. We believe welfare should be used only as a last resort." A sizeable number of Chinese Americans who could move out if they wanted to are staying in New York's Chinatown - not because of fears or discrimination on the outside, but because they prefer to be with their own people and culture. And Chinatown, despite its proximity to the Bowery, remains a haven of law and order. Dr. Sellenberger said: "If I had a daughter, I'd rather have her live in Chinatown than any place else in New York City." A police lieutenant said: "You don't find any Chinese locked up for robbery, rape or vagrancy." There has been some rise in Chinese American delinquency in recent years. In part, this is attributed to the fact that the ratio of children in Chinatown's total population is going up as more American youngsters getting into difficulty remains low. School buildings used by large numbers of Chinese are described as the cleanest in New York.

Public recreations facilities amount to only one small park, but few complaints are heard.

Efforts at progress. Over all, what observers are finding in America's Chinatowns are a thrifty, law-abiding and industrious people - ambitious to make progress on their own. In Los Angeles, a social worker said: "If you had a several hundred thousand Chinese Americans subjected to the same economic and social pressures that confront Negroes in major cities, you would have a good deal of unrest among them. At the same time, it must be recognized that the Chinese and other Orientals in California were faced with even more prejudice than faces the Negro today. We haven't stuck Negroes in concentration camps, for instance, as we did the Japanese in World War II. The Orientals came back, and today they have established themselves as strong contributions to the health of the whole community.

#2

THE OTHER SIDE OF SAN FRANCISCO CHINATOWN

"The ghetto begins as an involuntary response to common problems. Once established, newcomers seek the ghetto. In time, this locale is considered the natural habitat of persons exhibiting a different race or religion; taking refuge and residing within the ghetto are thought of as voluntary actions. Coupled with this belief is the dominant group's policy of denying open occupancy in the better residential and commercial areas it controls, thus reinforcing involuntary segregation patterns. Verbally, the dominant group claims that the ghetto members wish to be with their own kinds."[1]

To an outsider, the ghetto is a quaint and very foreign part of the city where one goes to experience the culture of another people. To tourists and even other San Franciscians, Chinatown on the outside seems quite pleasant and peaceful, even if it is a little unkept.

Irrespective of whose interpretation of the statistics are used, the picture of housing in Chinatown is rather incomplete. "Census data provide a very crude index of housing quality, at best, and no indication of neighborhood conditions. Areas officially designed as "slum" or "blighted" always include a large proportion of dwellings which are standard by Census measures."[2]

Within many of the buildings in Chinatown, and outside in areas surround it, the conditions must be visualized. In Chinatown, the community bathroom is virtually a way of life and has been for time immemorial since the creation of places like Chinatown. Given the age of the buildings, one can just imagine the ever present filth and unwholesomeness of the situation. In the Chinatown area, 60% of the housing lacked seperate bathrooms. This blatant situation is not only unhealthy, but also extremely inconvenient. Semi-public bathrooms, as basic an amenity as there can be, forces residents of a building to stand and wait in lines, carry their toilet articles, and above all deprive residents of their most cherished amenity - privacy. Hygenically, common toilets present a problem in themselves. For one, the necessary maintenance even if it is attempted is not always successful, unless it is consistently kept up. Communicable diseases and germs are given a breeding ground and also an accessible area of transmission. Common toilets are partly responsible for the high rate of tuberculosis in Chinatown, as it is a highly communicable disease.

Depending on the area, the tuberculosis rate in Chinatown is two to four times greater than the City average.[3] And where the old and young reside in the same building with common facilities, the danger of tuberculosis is compounded.

Another facility that is commonly shared [illegible] many Chinatown apartments is the kitchen. That is if a resident is fortunate to have such a facility. Other apartments or rooms may be served by either a single stove or several hot plates. Common kitchens notably present a great inconvenience for the residents but also can be potential fire hazard because of the heavy use of such limited facilities. Depending on the building and its location, 50 to 100 people may have to be served by one common kitchen. Because of the many inconveniences such as the time factor, which nessitates fairly quick meal preparation, the health of the residents can be seriously affected. Poor menu planning which is a cause for dietary deficiencies makes easy to prepare meals rather than wholesome foods the order of the day. And where people live in the many rooming houses which are found in and around Chinatown, residents must patronize restaurants where even rudimentary meal planning is impossible. In some apartments in the area especially of the buildings in Tract Area A-14, where heat is lacking, the stoves serve also in another capacity to heat the buildings in cold weather. This is dangerous and also shows another area in which many of the apartments in Chinatown are deficient.

The various shops and stores present a colorful backdrop for what is supposed to be representative of things that are Chinese. But if one looked at statistics compiled by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, the San Francisco Public Health Department, and various neighborhood agencies and councils, Chinatown is not the pleasant place it seems to it's many residents. There is one generalization that can easily be made about Chinatown, and that is most of its building stock is quite old. Not only are the buildings in the area old, but from the statistics, it would seem that they are not for the most part in adequate livable condition. In Census Tract Area A-14, where close to 3,700 people live in a few city blocks, 37% of the buildings are considered to be in serious deteriorated or dilapidated state. In the Area A-6, which is on the edge of Chinatown proper, and where the population exceeds 4,600 people, 43% of the buildings are considered to be deteriorated and dilapidated. These are statistics compiled by the U.S. Bureau Chinatown-North Beach District Council Area based on figures compiled by the U.S. Bureau of Census, and the U.S. Census of Housing. Deterioration and dilapidation entails the structural characteristics of buildings. This is in relation to such things as age of a given building, physical signs of wear, location, size of the building, size of lot, and number of dwellings.

If it had not been for the 1906 earthquake, it is not inconceivable that buildings constructed way before the turn of this Century would still be standing today.

There are certain physical aspects of the Chinatown which contribute to the unwholesomeness of the area for residence. The greatest single barrier, and the one thing that seems insurmountable is the fact that space is such a premium in San Francisco Chinatown. The spatial limitations are a cause for numerous defects and problems common to the area. For one, apartments in Chinatown are deficient in the lack of natural and in many cases of proper artificial lighting. Because of the inflated value of the land, buildings in and around Chinatown are unnaturally clustered together, and there is little left over space between, behind or in front. The result is that unless one has the fortune of residing in the front, a blessing which is mixed at best, one does not get the benefit of natural lighting at all. Nor is the situation any better for those people who must rely on artificial lighting. Since such a large percentage of the housing is so old, it is not strange that much of the overhead lighting, as well as the electrical wiring in the buildings quite antiquated. Not only can this be inconvenient, but this can only make a dreary habitat less than tolerable. Poor lighting and the lack of it can affect the lives of school aged children more than of the adults and also seriously affect their study habits.

A condition on which little can be done about is the factor of noise. Chinatown is a very busy area where all sorts of commerce and business are located. The fact that one lives above a restaurant, bar, or night club can be quite disconcerting to the resident who longs for a peaceful night's sleep after a hard day's work.

Because of the restricted use of land due to its inflated value, little is left over for recreational areas or parks in proportion to the number of residents in the area. In the Chinatown area, there are only two small open areas called parks and a postage stamp sized area called the "Chinese Playground." As small as it is, the "Chinese Playground" contains a small basketball court, swings, a lone tennis court, which often doubles as a field for "touch football."

For the young of Chinatown, because of the lack of recreational facilities whereby they can release their energy, they sometimes turn to not so constructive endeavors. In part because of this unwholesome environment, there has been a marked increase in the juvenile delinquency rate in Chinatown.

> It is probable that as the Chinese reside longer in the United States and no large influx of new immigrants enter, as was the case during the past ten years and more, more Chinese will be living dispersed among the larger community. The single exception is the San Francisco Chinatown whose location causes it to be the initial settlement for whatever new immigrants enter the country. There, the immigrant finds a social milieu not too disimilar to the one he left. He need not adjust himself so quickly to a new set of values. Whether this is desirable in the long run is not as important to him as being able to communicate with others like himself. He is shielded from many contacts which may cause him fear and uncertainty. On the other hand, he may find the situation so much to his liking that he does not undergo acculturation and assimilation. 4
>
> The second reason San Francisco's Chinatown will outlive all the others is that many Chinese who find it difficult to integrate elsewhere seek to hide their disappointment by resettling there and availing themselves of the protection its boundaries offer. The fact, too, that the population in and around the Bay Region is the largest, offers many business men and professionals a ready-made market. 5

With the recent change in the immigration law, there can be expected to be a large influx of new immigrants coming to the United States. And of course many will naturally gravitate to and settle around Chinatown. As great as the problems are in Chinatown, there will even be more as the immigrants become settled. Often immigrants find Chinatown to be an improvement from what they have emigrated from. But this acceptance in face of our high standard of living, and living conditions is something that is not tolerable. In recognition of this, there are numerous governmental programs, either in existence or in the planning stages with their primary objective of improving the lot of those as in the Chinatown of San Francisco.

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1. R.H. Lee. The Chinese in the United States of America. (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960..57)

2. Catherine Bauer Wurster. Housing and the Future of Cities in the San Francisco Bay Area. (Berkeley: University of California, Institute of Governmental Studies 1963., 13.)

3. S. F. C.R.P., FACT BOOK., Fig. 8.4, p.40

4. R.H. Lee. The Chinese in the U.S.A. p. 67

5. R.H. Lee The Chinese in the U.S.A. p. 68

#3

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN CHINATOWN

By Alan Wong - Youth Secretary, Chinese YMCA

Teenage problems have been with us for a long time although we read articles that deny this! Professional attention was given to the growing concern for preventive measures as recently as in 1961. At that time the Youth Committee under the Chinatown-North Beach District Council launched an effort to cope with the situation. Monthly meetings were held with representatives from the schools, the recreational centers, the social agencies, and the Juvenile Bureau and Central Police Departments.

One of the concerns was the unsupervised non-conforming boys and girls who do not respond to organized agency programs. We made a specific request for the police to drop into the centers and agencies to relate themselves to the youths so that a positive image of them could be cultivated. Up to that time the police appeared only to stop trouble or to make an arrest.

What do we know about the unsupervised non-conforming youths? I will speak only out of my experiences and the situation in Chinatown. This type of youth can be seen loitering at the housing projects, Top's Cafe, Fong Fong's, Splendor's Soda Fountain, Jackson's Cafe, Lee Bock's Pool Hall, Kearny Street's Pool Halls, Commodore Play Yard, Joice Street, and at the Chinese Recreational Center. These places that I am mentioning are not hangouts as such, but the problem youth can be found loitering!

We've all had occasion to read the recent headlines in our local newspapers........ gang wars......."rumbles".......stabbings.....fights.....!

Why do young people join "gangs"? The answer to this is simple. Teenagers join gangs for the same reason that they join clubs, congregate anywhere in groups or "hang around" with kids from their schools or from their neighborhood. What are teenage gangs like? In the first place, teenagers never refer to themselves as a "gang". It's not in their vocabulary. "Gang" is an adult word...young people call their groups clubs, cliques or crews.

What happens to the teenage groups that go wrong? What forces bring them into conflict with the police and the Juvenile Hall? What is it that makes them a threat to the community's well-being? What makes these teenagers "bad"? Why are their activities anti-social?

Today, unfortunately, many of our homes are not often the major source of strength and comfort and assistance that many of us make it out to be in the public eyes! A large number of our families today don't often sit down around the dinner table to talk over their problems...we eat in shifts...the parents working long hours...often the father is working out of town and is seldom home. In many cases, the language barrier between parents and children causes lack of support for the growing child! Cultural and generational conflicts have a dominant role in our delinquency problems.

A major source of family conflict lies in the confusion of the female role within many of our families. The boys often do not have a masculine model to emulate; the mother becomes the teacher, the disciplinarian, and the symbol of the adult world and its morality. The boy in his normal growth of emancipation from parental control rebels against the feminity imposed upon him by his mother. This reaction may take the form of delinquency as he plays out the "tough guy" role in order to assert to himself and others his own masculinity.

The mothers in these homes, under the strain of inadequate home conditions or physical efforts expended on necessary outside jobs, may become disorganized, negligent and irresponsible!

This causes too many families to allow their basic responsibilities to their children to be taken over by other institutions. And although schools, welfare agencies, Cameron House Child Guidance Services, YMCA, YWCA, and other agencies in addition to performing their fundamental duties for children, provide some wonderful services for young people with problems, these agencies can never match a healthy family unit's ability to perform these same functions.

It is any wonder that teenagers seek refuge from such environments? Many of them find the security which they lack at home in gang membership. Besides providing the normal satisfaction of "belonging" which group associations with their peers given to all adolescents, these groups or gangs develop much stronger, closer relationships among their teenage members...why? Because they supply their members with their only source of recognition and affection!

Gang members frequently eat their meals together, share their clothing, court their girls and "bull" about the problems. In the process, they become so dependent upon group approval that all personal considerations are forgotten. The gang comes first!

In such a group, each member has a place. They see themselves standing together against a hostile world. In fact, they will stop at nothing to protect the "status" and "recognition" which membership in such a group provides. The gang with its very strong morale and feeling of "we-ness" enable itself to stick together through conflicts.

The identifying marks of the anti-social gang is "conflict," with the social codes.... petty thievery and vandalism...with other gangs, street fights or "rumbles" over dating of girls and territory.

We Chinese Americans are known for preventive medicine; we have been offered all sorts of methods to cut out this cancerous growth! But, let me remind you that in a major operation in a hospital, the surgeon does not operate alone! He has a team of specialisties which operates under a teamwork concept! Teenage conflicts in our community concerns the family, recreational centers, social agencies, churches, and the community at large!

What are we doing, if anything, as a team to remove the enlarging cancerous growth in our community?

#4

CHINATOWN

by Will Connolly - THE MONITOR - 11/3/66

The Chinese are our toy people. Rarely do you see a fat or a tall one.

San Franciscans take their tourist friends through Chinatown to show off. "Look how tiny the women are," they gush benignly, "And aren't the little girls and boys living dolls?"

Indeed they are.

But some of the doll-like are growing tall enough on Occidental vitamins to become basketballers, and anyhow, the resident Chinese don't appreciate being treated as toys, however well-meaning the rubberneckers on Grant Avenue are.

Chinatown does have festering sores of poverty, hard to believe.

Casual strollers on Grant see jade and silks in the windows, so how can the Chinese be poor? Summertime, even the backscratcher and lichee nut curio shops get a big play. The restaurents are bathed in roseate neon, the better to lure moths from Akron and Little Rock for fumbling chopsticks and cracking fortune cookies.

There is a dreary wintertime throughout the year for a lot of Chinatown's population. The colony, proper, houses about 25,000. In all, 40,000 Chinese live here, some over the hill on the flats of Polk Gulch, others spread elsewhere.

A few are wealthy, some are middle class income, and the majority barely exists on boiled greens with fish heads, rice being the staple. The poor are the last to complain.

Of all the minorities, the Chinese are the least noisy. They suffered in silence for more than a century from the time they were brought over to do the dirty work of laying railroad tracks and digging tunnels in the mines for our nabobs.

Even now the Chinese aren't hollering. The poor just want their Caucasian friends to know they aren't doing so good and that they could use a chunk of whatever anti-poverty money is being distributed.

Here again, English is the devil, as it is with the Spanish speaking in need. Many in Chinatown are not vocal, hence, they don't raise a bleat. They don't know to what agencies to apply for relief.

Those with children going to school pick up a smattering, but still the older folks rely on Cantonese spoken at home and their unfamiliarity with Anglican language keeps them in a hole.

#5

UNIONS AND SWEAT SHOPS

"The unions, we feel, are largely to blame for not providing openings. In some cases English is a difficulty, but it's not insurmountable in manual trades. These people -- those here some time and those who migrated in recent years -- are dexterous at many things, if put to work."

Jamie Chin of the Urban League is against "sweat shops" for garment making at substandard wages. These little factories are spotted on side streets off the main drag and are veiled behind store fronts.

The Urban League estimates there are 2500 women in 140 shops, some upstairs in homes. It seems an incredible number.

Chinese women, nifty at running up a dress on sewing machines from a pattern, are paid by piece work. It averages out, Chin says, from 50 cents to $1.50 an hour, depending on production.

#6

THE CHINESE DON'T PICKET

The Chinese don't demonstrate or picket. Later, they may get around to making themselves heard, but as of now the body of Chinatown's residents in their dismal warrens are simply asking.

They have an aggressive spoksman in James Chin of the Urban League whose prime assignment is job developer. Chin's grandfather arrived in 1880 when the "heathen Chinee" really had to scramble for the most menial job against Yankee prejudice and exclusion laws.

Almost all of that is gone. Chinese are socially accepted, even favored as neighbors, if only because their children are "cute" and well-behaved. The kids hardly ever make the police blotter.

Just the same, it's hard for the bulk of adults to get work. The language barrier of sophisticated English with its inflections keeps many a young girl out of office jobs and the boys from white collar openings.

To compound the problem, some recent immigrants are 35 or 40 years old, who had been waiting to get in under the relaxed but ill-named "parolee act." Between 1960 and 1965, about 16,000 southeast Asia Chinese entered. Not all located in Chinatown, though most did.

What with their "middle" age and lack of marketable skills, these arrivals are suffering along with those who came earlier. Some are educated in their land, though stumbling at English, and others are adept at trades not immediately applicable to the U.S. labor market.

"But they can convert, if given a chance." James Chin insisted. "A sad example was the former Chief Justice of China, a cultured man with academic degrees as long as your sleeve. Yet, when he was admitted, he had to work as a bus boy in Chinatown. The union wouldn't take him in as a waiter."

Chin, going on: "Some waiters in Chinatown's popular cafes make $1000 a month. In other occupations union members get more in fringe benefits alone than unorganized Chinese here make in a month.

#7

THE NEON GHETTO

By Herb Caen
San Francisco Chronicle
4/8/65

GRANT AVENUE in Chinatown an old woman crosses the street, wearing black pantaloons, a long smock - and white tennis shoes. The guy with you grins: "A member of the Wong Birch Society?" You smile, too, the fatuous, unenthusiastic smirk of the Caucasian in Chinatown.

Ah, we do make such sport of the Chinese; it's almost like the good old "Yellow Peril" days of Dennis Kearney and William Randolph Hearst the Elder. Two Wongs don't make a white. The phone book is full of Wong numbers. The Tai Ping Company - do they teach the touch system! Mr. Pon Gee, the insurance man - no doubt with a silky manner. Some chop suey and flied lice, Cholly, and make it chop-chop, so solly.

As Charlie well knows, you don't have to go overseas to find the Ugly American. We may all locate him in the mirror.

STILL, I SUPPOSE, you could say the little old lady has come a long way. Fifty years ago, she would have been tottering painfully along Dupont Gai on bound feet. The menfolk were wearing long robes and pigtails, heading toward the smell of opium in the Street of the Thousand Lanterns. Arnold Genthe, the noted photographer was lurking in dark corners, snapping the pictures that would engrave forever the image of Chinatown that lives today only in the minds of Caucasians.

Most of us are still in the era of the "Chinaman's Room." You don't know about that? You still find them in the dark basements of old San Francisco houses - airless little wooden rooms where the Chinese manservant lived, and died. Lacking an identity, he was given the family's surname. "Meet Ling Murphy - wonderful character. Been with us for years."

In these enlightened days, the "Chinaman's Room" is used for storage, or the family dog, if it isn't too pedigreed and fussy.

DON'T GET ME WRONG: San Franciscans love Chinatown, as well they should. It's one of our most consistant tourist attractions - "the largest Chinese settlement outside the Orient" (a polite way of saying ghetto). Everybody has his favorite little side-street restaurant, "and we know it's good because you only see Chinese there" (this is more likely to mean it's cheap than good.) For ads and photographs, it's hard to beat; the silhouette of a pagoda rooftop, a dragon entwined streetlamp with a halo of fog, a jumble of neon ideographs, vaguely sinister-looking men, eyes hidden beneath black hat brims.

To those who don't live in it, Chinatown is San Francisco's most frozen cliche. Clink of mah-jongg tiles behind drawn curtains in a back alley. Dried seahorses in a herbalist's window, winter melon and snow peas at the grocer's meat-filled buns in the bakery. Memories of tong wars and "Little Pete," who wore a coat of mail but was killed anyway.

That's Chinatown - that and the great dragon snaking through the mobs on New Year's. That and the fortune cookies and the chopsticks and the Mid-western tourists who buy back-scratchers and complain that they "can't find anything from China in Chinatown." They don't realize that we don't do business with China because there is no China: all the Chinese come from Formosa.

IF YOU LIVE in Chinatown, you live in a slum. Behind the neon and the bars and the restaurants and the curio shops, that's what it is - one big tenement, dirty overcrowded and diseased (the TB rate is the highest in town). Have you ever walked up those long, narrow stairs, past all the mailboxes that the tourists find so colorful? I have. You climb into a musty past of tiny wooden cubicles. Today the Chinaman's Room is in Chinatown, not Pacific Heights.

But the message never seems to get through the impersonable wall of fortune cookies and guidebooks. Just the other day, a group of Chinatown leaders again complained at City Hall about the slum conditions, the need for a master plan, the fact that 90% of the buildings qualify for condemnation and should be replaced by redevelopment.

Redevelop a tourist attraction? Heaven forbid. Even so intelligent a man as Planning Director James R. McCarthy was as taken aback as a member of the Convention and Visitors Bureau. He said things like "We mustn't destroy the character of Chinatown - one of the city's prime tourist attractions." The narrow streets and old buildings are important to the image of San Francisco as an urban and urbane place to live."

Especially if you don't live there. The Chinese aren't people, they're characters in a four-color billboard. The Chinese bankers, lawyers and architects who complain about the restrictions on Chinatown aren't typical; to the McCarthys and the Convention Bureau and most of the rest of us, the Chinese do your laundry, cook, wait on tables, and show you how to use chopsticks.

When they aren't on tap, being smiling and servile to their betters, they disappear up those long stairs into their rabbit warrens - ghosts living in a tacky Disneyland.

I CAN HEAR IT NOW , "Everybody likes the Chinese in San Francisco." Sure they (we) do, in a paternalistic way. "Besides, they like to stick together" (or are they stuck together?) The young, the quick and the smart are getting out of Chinatown, or as far out as they're allowed. They aren't taken in by the role they're supposed to play, nor will they, and they aren't fooled by thp phony pagoda rooftops that look so picturesque on the skyline but merely cover a multitude of sins. That little old lady in tennis shoes is still one step behind. Her daughter is wearing high heels and looking for a way out of "dreamy, dreamy Chinatown."

#8

'FLOWER DRUM SONG' IS A REAL LIFE TRAGEDY

Chinese mail-order brides find their 'Magic Mountain' is really a sweatshop

by
Shirley Sun

The Sunday Ramparts
Dec. 18-31, 1966

Behind the sparkle of the red and gold doors of San Francisco's world famous and touristy Chinatown lies a much grimmer reality.

It is a tragic Flower Drum Song, often a dirge where mail order brides from Hong Kong find suicide more preferable than their new lot.

More than 16,000 Chinese immigrants have come from Hong Kong since the Kennedy Administration relaxed quotas in 1962. Thousands more are expected to arrive. For these marginal and uprooted people, the first years of their stay are dangerously critical ones. For many, it is a matter of life and death.

San Francisco's Chinese population (which absorbs nearly all the immigrants) has a suicide rate nearly three times the national figure. (37 vs. 11 of every 10,000). Psychiatrists term it an "ethnic proneness" to self-destruction, and the figure would be disturbing for any ethnic group. But for the traditionally self-possessed and contented Chinese, with their much admired family system, it is shocking.

Mrs. Dong Wing, a young mother in her twenties who was previously treated by a number of Chinatown's general practitioners for a variety of somatic complaints, was found unconscious in her bed last week and immediately taken to the hospital. It was too late. She was dead from an overdose of sleeping pills.

Mrs. Wing had been in the United States for less than a year. Two years ago her laborer husband arranged for a match through his relatives with Mrs. Wing, then a prospective bride in Hong Kong. The acute shortage of women in Chinatown (one woman to six men) is due to the inequalities of old immigration laws.

Mr. and Mrs. Wing exchanged pictures and a series of letters in which each partner painted a glamours, if untruthful picture. Mr. Wing withdrew his life's earnings, went to Hong Kong for a whirlwind courtship of two weeks and returned to San Francisco after the wedding to process the papers for his new bride's arrival.

Mrs. Wing arrived in November 1965. She was already pregnant.

Her exposure to American life had been based entirely on movies. She looked forward to a life of pillow talk and pink telephones. (However absurd this picture is, it is nonetheless the image most Hong Kong Chinese have of life in America.) Mrs. Wing left her family and friends and headed to the promised land, where she had only to pick up the treasures lying on the slopes of the Golden Mountain, the name by which the Chinese know San Francisco.

She married a strange man who spoke only rudimentary Chinese, believing he was rich. Wasn't everyone in America rich? On her arrival, she was brutally initiated into the realities of ghetto life: Mr. Wing was a dishwasher in a small restaurant off of Grant Avenue. He could hardly support them both and a child on his $210.00 monthly salary. His home did not have an electronic kitchen nor a dishwasher. They lived in a cramped one room alley apartment where the running water does not reach the upper floors.

She began to cook, wash, clean house and work all day in a sewing factory for 75 cents an hour. She never worked before; she could not speak English. She dared not venture outside Chinatown where the pale faces of the crowd frightened her. Although the recognizable stores, yellow faces and familiar tongues of Chinatown were less strange, she had no one with whom to talk.

Life in America was worse than crowded Hong Kong. Her husband meant well, but was helpless. Subjected to poverty, isolation and toil without meaning, she saw her situation and regretted ever having set foot on the Golden Mountain.

A few immigrants do return when they find the frustrations beyond tolerance. But Mrs. Wing, like most of them, had invested so much hope and self-pride that return was impossible. The sense of shame, the lack of money, the loss of face from not making it in America, kept her still.

The Golden Mountain is the end of the road for the Chinese immigrant from the Orient. Inhibited by cultural pressures from expressing aggressiveness in the forms of violence and rioting, the Chinese must turn inwardly upon themselves. Mrs. Dong Wing, rather than raising hell, tried stoically to endure it, but perished in the process.

Discussion Questions on "WORK, NOT WELFARE":

7

1. How does the mass media usually present Asian Americans? Check your local papers or television news. Are they even visible?

2. Why are Asian Americans often considered a "model minority"? Is there any implied note of condescension in Article #1?

3. Do you think that there may be an effort by certain parts of the news to play off one minority group against another?

4. Why do you think that the social problems of poverty, poor health, juvenile delinquency, labor exploitation, etc. Which lie behind the glittering facade of Chinatown, tend to be played down in newspapers (even though occasional articles are published)? What role does Chinatown play in San Francisco's tourist industry? Tourism is San Francisco's major industry.

5. Complete this statement - "If the Chinese Americans have 'made it' why can't the ______________________?" Have the Chinese Americans "made it"? What does "making it " mean?

6. Is welfare a bad social institution? Is welfare a necessary social institution?

   Why does our society give people welfare and then try to attach a sense of shame to those receiving it (Over 2/3 of all welfare payments go to children, the aged, or the ill.)?

44. THE EMERGENCE OF YELLOW POWER IN AMERICA

Quoted from Roots: An Asian American Reader
by Amy Uyematsu

(Concept: Asian American Identity)

Asian Americans can no longer afford to watch the black-and-white struggle from the sidelines. They have their own cause to fight, since they are also victims--with less visible scars--of the white institutionalized racism. A yellow movement has been set into motion by the black power movement. Addressing itself to the unique problems of Asian Americans, this "yellow power" movement is relevant to the black power movement in that both are part of the Third World struggle to liberate all colored people.

Part I: MISTAKEN IDENTITY

The yellow power movement has been motivated largely by the problem of self-identity in Asian Americans. The psychological focus of this movement is vital, for Asian Americans suffer the critical mental crises of having "integrated" into American society--

"No person can be healthy, complete, and mature if he must deny a part of himself; this is what 'integration' has required so far."

The Asian Americans' current position in America is not viewed as a social problem. Having achieved middle-class incomes while presenting no real threat in numbers to the white majority, the main body of Asian Americans (namely, the Japanese and the Chinese) have received the token acceptance of white America.

Precisely because Asian Americans have become economically secure, do they face serious identity problems. Fully committed to a system that subordinates them on the basis of non-whiteness, Asian Americans still try to gain complete acceptance by denying their yellowness. They have become white in every respect but color.

However, the subtle but prevailing racial prejudice that "yellows" experience restricts them to the margins of the white world. Asian Americans have assumed white identities, that is, the values and attitudes of the majority of Americans. Now they are beginning to realize that this nation is a "White democracy" and that yellow people have a mistaken identity.

Within the past two years, the "yellow power" movement has developed as a direct outgrowth of the "black power" movement. The "black power" movement caused many Asian Americans to question themselves. "Yellow power" is just now at the stage of "an articulated mood rather than a program--disillusionment and alienation from white America and independence, race pride, and self-respect." Yellow consciousness is the immediate goal of concerned Asian Americans.

In the process of Americanization, Asians have tried to transform themselves into white men--both mentally and physically. Mentally, they have adjusted to the white man's culture by giving up their own languages, customs, histories, and cultural values. They have adopted the "American way of life" only to discover that this is not enough.

Next, they have rejected their physical heritages, resulting in extreme self-hatred. Yellow people share with the blacks the desire to look white. Just as blacks wish to be light-complected with thin lips and un-kinky hair, "yellow" want to be tall with long legs and large eyes. The self-hatred is also evident in the yellow male's obsession with unobtainable white women, and in the yellow female's attempt to gain male approval by aping white beauty standards. Yellow females have their own "conking" techniques-- they use "peroxide, foam rubber, and scotch tape to give them light hair, large breasts, and double-lidded eyes."

The "Black is Beautiful" cry among black Americans has instilled a new awareness in Asian Americans to be proud of their physical and cultural heritages. Yellow power advocates self-acceptance as the first step toward strengthening personalities of Asian Americans.

Since the yellow power movement is thus far made up of students and young adults, it is working for Asian American ethnic studies centers on college campuses such as Cal and U.C.L.A. The re-establishment of ethnic identity through education is being pursued in classes like U.C.L.A.'s "Orientals in America." As one student in the course relates:

"I want to take this course for a 20-20 realization, and not a passive glance in the ill-reflecting mirror; the image I see is W.A.S.P., but the yellow skin is not lily white...I want to find out what my voluntarily or subsonsciously suppressed Oriental self is like; also what the thousands of other (suppressed?) Oriental selves are like in a much larger mind and body--America...I want to establish my ethnic identity not merely for the sake of such roots, but for the inherent value that such a background merits."

The problem of self-identity in Asian Americans also requires the removal of stereotypes. The yellow people in America seem to be silent citizens. They are stereotyped as being passive, accomodating, and unemotional. Unfortunately, this description is fairly accurate, for Asian Americans have accepted these stereotypes and are becoming true to them.

The "silent" Asian Americans have rationalized their behavior in terms of cultural values which they have maintained from the old country. For example, the Japanese use the term "enryo" to denote hesitation in action or expression. A young Buddhist minister, Reverend Mas Kodani of the Los Angeles Senshin Buddhist Temple, has illustrated the difference between Japanese "enryo" and Japanese American "enryo": in Japan, if a teacher or lecturer asks, "Are there any questions?", several members of the class or audience respond; but in the United States, the same question is followed by a deathly silence.

Reverend Kodani has also commented on the freedom of expression between family members that is absent is Asian Americans. As an American-born student in Japan, he was surprised at the display of open affection in Japanese families. This cultural characteristic is not shown in Japanese American families, who react with embarrassment and guilt toward open feelings of love and hate.

This uneasiness in admitting and expressing natural human feelings has been a factor in the negligible number of Asian Americans in the theater, drama, and literary arts. Not discounting the race prejudice and competition in these fields, yellow Americans cannot express themselves honestly, or in the words of Chinese American actor James Hong, they cannot feel "from the gut level."

The silent, passive image of Asian Americans is understood not in terms of their cultural backgrounds, but by the fact that they are scared. The earliest Asians in America were Chinese immigrants who began settling in large numbers on the West Coast from 1850 through 1880. They were subjected to extreme white racism, ranging from economic subordination, to the denial of rights of naturalization, to physical violence. During the height of anti-Chinese mob action of the 1880's, whites were "stoning the Chinese in the streets, cutting off their queues, wrecking their shops and laundries." The worst outbreak took place in Rock Springs, Wyoming, in 1885, when twenty-eight Chinese residents were murdered. Perhaps, surviving Asians learned to live in silence, for even if "the victims of such attacks tried to go to court to win protection, they could not hope to get a hearing. The phrase 'not a Chinaman's chance' had a grim and bitter reality."

Racist treatment of "yellows" still existed during World War II, with the unjustifiable internment of 110,000 Japanese into dentention camps. When Japanese Americans were ordered to leave their homes and possessions behind within short notice, they co-operated with resignation and not even voiced opposition. According to Frank Chumann, onetime president of the Japanese American Citizens League, they "used the principle of shikataganai--realistic resignation--and evacuated without protest."

Today the Asian Americans are still scared. Their passive behavior serves to keep national attention on the black people. By being as inconspicuous as possible, they keep pressure off of themselves at the expense of the blacks. Asian Americans have formed an uneasy alliance with white Americans to keep the blacks down. They close their eyes to the latent white racism toward them which has never changed.

Frightened "yellows" allow the white public to use the "silent Oriental" stereotype against the black protest. The presence of twenty million blacks in America poses an actual physical threat to the white system. Fearful whites tell militant blacks that the acceptable criterion for behavior is exemplified in the quiet, passive Asian American.

The yellow power movement envisages a new role for Asian Americans:

"It is a rejection of the passive Oriental stereotype and symbolizes the birth of a new Asian--one who will recognize and deal with injustices. The shout of Yellow Power, symbolic of our new direction, is reverbrating in the quiet corridors of the Asian community."

As expressed in the black power writings, yellow power also says that "When we begin to define our own image, the stereotypes--that is, lies--that our oppressor has developed will begin in the white community and end there."

Another obstacle to the creation of yellow consciousness is the well-incorporated white racist attitudes which are present in Asian Americans. They take much false pride in their own economic progress and feel that blacks could succeed similarly if they only followed the Protestant ethic of hard work and education. Many Asians support S.I. Hayakawa, the so-called spokesman of yellow people, when he advises the black man to imitate the Nisei: "Go to school and get high grades, save one dollar out of every ten you earn to capitalize your business." But the fact is that the white power structure allowed Asian Americans to succeed through their own efforts while the same institutions persist in denying these opportunities to black Americans.

Certain basic changes in American society made it possible for many Asian Americans to improve their economic condition after the war. In the first place, black people became the target group of West Coast discrimination. During and after World War II, a hugh influx of blacks migrated into the West, taking racist agitation away from the yellows and onto the blacks. From 1940 to 1950, there was a gain of 85.2 percent in the black population of the West and North; from 1950 to 1960, a gain of 71.6 percent; and from 1960 to 1966, a gain of 80.4 percent.

The other basic change in society was the shifting economic picture. In a largely agricultural and rural West, Asian Americans were able to find employment. First- and second-generation Japanese and Filipinos were hired as farm laborers and gardeners, while Chinese were employed in laundries and restaurants. In marked constrast is the highly technological and urban society which today faces unemployed black people. "The Negro migrant, unlike the immigrant, found little opportunity in the city; he had arrived too late, and the unskilled labor he had to offer was no longer needed." Moreover, blacks today are kept out of a shrinking labor market, which is also closing opportunities for white job-seekers.

Asian Americans are perpetuating white racism in the United States as they allow white America to hold up the "successful" Oriental image before other minority groups as the model to emulate. White America justifies the blacks' position by showing that other non-whites--yellow people--have been able to "adapt" to the system. The truth underlying both the yellows' history and that of the blacks has been distorted. In addition, the claim that black citizens must "prove their rights to equality" is fundamentally racist.

Unfortunately, the yellow power movement is fighting a well-developed racism in Asian Americans who project their own frustrated attempts to gain white acceptance onto the black people. They nurse their own feelings of inferiority and insecurity by holding themselves as superior to the blacks.

Since they feel they are in a relatively secure economic and social position, most Asian Americans overlook the subtle but damaging racism that confronts them. They do not want to upset their present ego systems by honest self-appraisal. They would rather fool themselves than admit that they have prostituted themselves to white society.

Part 2: THE RELEVANCE OF POWER FOR ASIANS IN AMERICA

The emerging movement among Asian Americans can be described as "yellow power" because it is seeking freedom from racial oppression through the power of a consolidated yellow people. As derived from the black power ideology, yellow power implies that Asian Americans must control the decision-making processes affecting their lives.

One basic premise of both black power and yellow power must be used to improve the economic and social conditions of blacks and yellows. In considering the relevance of power for Asian Americans, two common assumptions will be challenged: first, that the Asian Americans are completely powerless in the United States; and second, the assumption that Asian Americans have already obtained "economic" equality.

While the black power movement can conceivably bargain from a position of strength, yellow power has no such potential to draw from. A united black people would comprise over ten percent of the total American electorate; this is a significant enough proportion of the voting population to make it possible for blacks to be a controlling force in the power structure. In contrast, the political power of yellows would have little effect on state and national contests. The combined populations of Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos in the United States in 1960 was only 887,834--not even one-half percent of the total population.

However, Asian Americans are not completely weaponless, in the local political arena.

For instance, in California, the combined strength of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos in 1960 was two percent of the state population. Their possible political significance lies in the fact that there are heavy concentrations of these groups in San Francisco and Los Angeles. In the San Francisco-Oakland metropolitan area, 55% of the Chinese, 16% of the Japanese, and 33% of the Filipinos live. On an even more local level, Japanese and Chinese in the Crenshaw area of Los Angeles form about one-third of the total residents; and Japanese in the city of Gardena own forty percent of that city's property.

In city and county government, a solid yellow voting bloc could make a difference. As has been demonstrated by the Irish, Italians, Jews, and Poles, the remarkable fact of ethnic political power is it's ability to "control a higher proportion of political control and influence than their actual percentage in the population warrants."

Even under the assumption that yellow political power could be significant, how will it improve the present economic situation of Asian Americans? Most yellow people have attained middle-class incomes and feel that they have no legitimate complaint against the existing capitalist structure.

The middle-class attainment of Asian Americans has also made certain blacks unsympathetic to the yellow power movement. In the words of one B.S.U. member, it looks like Asian Americans "just want more of the money pie." It is difficult for some blacks to relate to the yellow man's problems next to his own total victimization.

Although it is true that some Asian minorities lead all other colored groups in America in terms of economic progress, it is a fallacy that Asian Americans enjoy full economic opportunity. If the Protestant ethic is truly a formula for economic success, then why don't Japanese and Chinese who work harder and have more education than whites earn just as much? Statistics on unemployment, educational attainment, and median annual income reveal an inconsistency in this "success" formula when it applies to non-whites.

In 1960, unemployment rates for Japanese and Chinese males were lower than those for white males in California:

2.6 percent for Japanese
4.9 percent for Chinese
5.5 percent for Whites

In the same year, percentage rates for Japanese and Chinese males who had completed high school or college were higher than those for White males:

High School
13.3 percent for Chinese
11.9 percent for Japanese
10.7 percent for Whites

Despite these figures, the median annual income of Japanese and Chinese was considerably lower than the median annual income of Whites. Chinese men in California earned $3,803; Japanese men earned $4,388; and White men earned $5,109.

The explanation for this discrepancy lies in the continuing racial discrimination toward yellows in upper-wage level and high-status positions. White America praises the success of Japanese and Chinese for being highest among all other colored groups. Japanese and Chinese should feel fortunate that they are accepted more than any other non-white ethnic group, but they should not step out of place and compare themselves with whites. In essence, the American capitalistic dream was never meant to include non-whites.

The myth of Asian American success is most obvious in the economic and social position of Filipino Americans. In 1960, the 65,459 Filipino residents of California earned a median annual income of $2,925, as compared to $3,553 for blacks and $5,109 for Whites. Over half of the total Filipino male working force was employed in farm labor and service work; over half of all Filipino males received less than 8.7 years of school education. Indeed, Filipinos are a forgotten minority in America. Like blacks, they have many legitimate complaints against American society.

A further example of the false economic and social picture of Asian Americans exists in the ghetto communities of Little Tokyo in Los Angeles and Chinatown in San Francisco. In the former, elderly Japanese live in rundown hotels in social and cultural isolation. And in the latter, Chinese families suffer the poor living conditions of a community that has the second highest tuberculosis rate in the nation.

Thus, the use of yellow political power is valid, for Asian Americans do have definite economic and social problems which must be improved. By organizing around these needs, Asian Americans can make the yellow power movement a viable political force in their lives.

Discussion Questions on THE EMERGENCE OF YELLOW POWER IN AMERICA:

1. What factors in our society set the Asian American identity movement in motion?

2. What does the author mean when she says that precisely because Asian Americans have become economically secure they face serious identity problems?

3. How do visible racial characteristics of Asian Americans lead to subordination according to the author?

4. Do you think that United States involvement in three wars in Asia in the last 30 years has affected the Asian American identity movement?

5. When most White Americans refer to racism in the United States, they are usually referring to Black-White relations. What evidence of Yellow-White relations which might be called racism does the author refer to?

6. What does Yellow Power mean? Does it mean the same thing as equality of opportunity? How is it similar? How is it different?

7. To what extent do you believe that Asian American poverty is based on racism? What additional factors might also be involved?

45. I AM CURIOUS (YELLOW)

Quoted from Roots: An Asian American Reader
By Violet Rabaya

(Concept: Ambiguous Identity)

"It is very difficult to describe my plight. Being raised in a white society and having acquired white "habits" is difficult enough to cope with when attempting to find pride in one's ancestry, but even more difficult is the alienation I find among my own people (if I may be so liberal as to include myself in the oriental race).

I have found that the Filipino oriental has three basic differences when comparing him with other "typical orientals," that is, the Japanese and Chinese. First of all, as the term Oriental has been interpreted by most to mean peoples of yellow skin, the Filipino is not yellow, but brown. Secondly, the heritage of the Filipino has definite and pronounced Spanish colonial influences, which have nearly obliterated most Asian customs associated with Orientals. And thirdly, the sense of unity among Filipinos, where it is most needed, precisely within the people themselves, is not strong.

Filipinos, also, like most other Orientals, have basic racist tendencies. This phenomena is admittedly not uncommon among other races, but there exists a looming discrepancy in the racial attitude of the Filipino. Unlike most other groups of people where racism stems from the belief in one's superiority, or at least, in one's equality, the Filipino has accepted, though reluctantly, his place on the "White social ladder." Caucasians are number one, Orientals are number two, Mexicans number three, then Negroes. Asking my parents or any other Filipinos I have known from the old country to evaluate their status on this ladder, I was, at first, naturally greeted with the "We are the greatest Orientals" line, mostly because no one took me seriously. But, upon pressing the point, I was shocked (not really, because I expected as much) to find that Filipinos, even though their hatred for the Japanese is still great because of the war and their dislike of the Chinese apparent, believe that they are inferior to whites and other orientals (Japanese and Chinese), but superior to Mexicans and blacks. Of course, this opinion is not true for all Filipinos, but it generally serves to illustrate the fact that the Filipino, himself, does not "see" his place among other orientals.

Possibly, because of the rift culturally, religiously and politically between the Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino, the Filipino like the Japanese and Chinese did not care to be assimilated in earlier times. But the Filipino in America today has realized that, because of the racial climate of the times, it is more beneficial to be considered oriental than any other minority group. The white middle class has, at least, verbally "accepted" the oriental. Thus, it becomes mandatory for the Filipino to assert his oriental origin.

Japanese and Chinese are at once categorized as oriental, but not so the Filipino. Whenever anyone in this society thinks "what is an oriental?" the answer immediately comes back Chinese or Japanese, maybe Korean, that is, unless one is a Filipino. This failure of inclusion of the Filipino is, of course, unconscious to the non-oriental and probably at least partially understandable, since most non-orientals care little to make distinctions when referring to orientals, or have a profound stupidity and general lack of knowledge concerning the oriental. "They all look the same to me!" is the cry. The fact is that they don't all look the same. But, alas, for the observant non-oriental, the problem of identifying the Filipino as different is not so great. The real problem lies in the classification of the Filipino. I have always been met with this dilemma. I have been called Vietnamese, Hawaiian, Indian, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and even Polynesian just to be safe. Only once or twice in my memory can I recall being said to be Filipino, and one of these times was an absolute absurdity. To illustrate the height of obscurity in Filipino identification, I was once told that I didn't look Mexican and I couldn't be oriental, so I must be Filipino. To put it lightly, I, like other Filipinos, have become "disoriented."

All of this is not to say that I believe my cultural identity has the ultimate importance in my life, or that I wish to be classified. Certainly, I find that a classification as an individual is to be more greatly desired, but the question of recognition as both a Filipino and an oriental is of great significance to me. And, because this is not the case, I find myself, and I daresay, many other American born Filipino orientals, torn not only between my white-Filipino identity, but my oriental-Filipino identity as well. It seems illogical that a Filipino, being an oriental, should be faced with such a crisis. But, it is only too real.

"One of the peculiar situations in which the Filipino has found himself is that relating to his racial status. Laws prohibiting the marriage of Caucasians and Orientals do not specifically mention Filipinos. There was nothing Oriental in the Filipino's tradition, and his language was Spanish. He felt no bonds with Orientals in the United States--nor they with him. For a time the legality of Filipino-Caucasian intermarriage became the province of each county clerk in California. Whether it was permitted or not depended on their individual viewpoints and the extent of their knowledge of racial groups."

To be an outcast in a white society and an outcast among other orientals leaves the Filipino in that never-never land of social obscurity. It is almost no wonder that the Filipino might not mind being stereotyped as a "typical oriental."

Reprinted from Gidra, January, 1971.

Discussion Questions on I Am Curious (Yellow?):

1. What is unusual about Filipino identification as a "typical oriental"?

2. How accurate is the author's description of the "white social ladder" (Caucasians are number one, Orientals are number two, Mexicans are number three, then Negroes.)?

   Do you think that Whites and Non-Whites would come up with the same social rankings?

3. How do some Filipinos feel about Chinese and Japanese? Can you account for any of those feelings?

4. What does the author mean by saying that the Filipino is in the never-never land of social obscurity?

5. Are there any other racial minorities which could feel similar to the Filipino concerning ambiguous identity? (Hawaiians, Samoans, Tongans, East Indians, Pakistanis, etc.)

SECTION D

IDENTITY UNIT - THE NOVEL

IDENTITY UNIT - THE NOVEL

Directions for the instructor:

Objective: The ultimate objective for the student is to experience the realization that society is permeated with racist attitudes; therefore, it may have predisposed him to behave in a particular way. Oftentimes he is rewarded for behaving on the basis of those attitudes. There are times, consequently, when racist behavior is socially acceptable, but the consequences for the larger society are negative. Free individual choice based on reason and human concern may be subordinated to emotional and behavioristic patterns which are reinforced by society in order to keep society functioning in the familiar pattern. Such axioms as law and order and the value of property rights above human rights are examples of this desire to keep society functioning smoothly. A person may participate in racism but frequently may be doing things he really doesn't want to do and which may be incongruent with his deepest values. His individual choice is lost as he is molded into the dominant society. The goal, therefore, is to make students aware and conscious of such behavior in order to give them choices to accept the responsibility and consequences of racism.

Procedure: It is suggested that the teacher spend several days discussing the two basic concepts of:

A. Rewards of belonging to the dominant society
B. Results of racist behavior

before the novel is discussed. While the teacher is discussing in class the general themes, he can assign readings from the list of novels at the end of this unit in order to acquaint the student with other thematic terms which are listed below. The following are some of the possible general discussion topics which can be used as an introductory methodology to enable students to read larger works in a broader context than the usual literary motifs. However, form, style, syntax, metaphor, temporal and spacial concerns, biographical and historical aspects may and should be discussed as well.

I. SUBTLE REWARDS OF RACIST BEHAVIOR - ORIGINS AND ELEMENTS OF IDENTIFICATION

II. CONSEQUENCES OF RACIST BEHAVIOR FOR THE DOMINANT SOCIETY

III. EXAMINATION OF RACISM THROUGH THE LARGER WORKS OF FICTION

IDENTITY UNIT - THE NOVEL

Behavioral Objectives

1. Given the concept of rewards and results of racist behavior, a student will understand and be able to delineate, explain, and cite specific examples of such rewards and results.

2. Given the concept of ego and ego strength, and its relationship to the concept of self-identity, a student will understand and be able to cite what attributes contribute to self-identity and their order of importance.

3. Given the concept of the identity of superiority, a student will understand and be able to delineate the psychological aspects of ego strength and its relationship to racism.

4. Given the concept of the the American dream, a student will understand and be able to cite specific influences which have contributed to the formation of this ideal and its relationship to racism.

5. Given the concept of the consequences of racist behavior, a student will understand and be able to verify the concept through library research.

6. Given examples of several ethnic groups' conception of the American dream, a student will be able to cite the basic differences of ethnic groups and their attitudes in reference to their historical placement.

7. Given a written example of blatant racism, the student will be able to organize a group and decide on the procedure of presenting his evaluation to the class.

8. Given the experience of group organization, a student will be able to understand how the group process operates and how individual prejudice can hamper creative and constructive activity.

9. Given the psychological conception of projection, a student will be able to write an organized composition, grammatically correct, which will demonstrate how this concept has operated in his personal life, and compare and contrast these experiences with those of the protagonist in the text.

10. Given the hypothesis of the self-fulfilling prophecy, a student will be able to write a cohesive composition using the above hypothesis, and relate it to a personal experience.

11. Given the exercise in euphemistic synonyms, a student will be able to cite specific examples from the text in which this concept is used.

12. Given a poem of Countee Cullen, a student will be able to write a composition focussing on one of the three themes of identity, projection, or the self-fulfilling prophecy.

13. Given the concept of stereotypes, a student will be able to cite from the text the stereotyped attitudes of the dominant society.

Behavioral Objectives

14. Given the concept of ethnocentrism as the central theme, a student will be able to research, develop, and write a composition describing how their particular ethnic group contributed to American society.

15. Given instruction and examples of the fundamentals of propaganda techniques, a student will be able to explain why a particular work is propagandistic.

16. Given an historical accounting of Southern chivalry during the pre-Civil War period and examples from Twain's Huck Finn, a student will be able to use the text and cite specific examples from the text where this attitude is prevalent.

17. Given instruction on the techniques in library research, a student will be able to complete a research assignment and compile materials which will include statistical readings.

18. Given information from a library research project, a student will be able to devise a questionnaire in relationship to the information and use the questionnaire for an oral interview.

19. Given instruction in writing a research report, a student will be able to analyze his materials and write a cohesive and well organized report.

20. Given instruction in the manner in which euphemistic terms help to determine attitudes, a student will be able to use Roget's Thesaurus to find euphemistic synonyms and write specific sentences which demonstrate psychological attitudes.

21. Given instruction in the use of footnotes and bibliography, and the correct form, a student will be able to incorporate footnotes and devise a bibliography as part of his composition assignment.

22. Given instruction in other literary modes (biographical, exegetical, and historical), a student will be able to write a lengthy literary criticism of the text.

I. SUBTLE REWARDS OF RACIST BEHAVIOR - ORIGINS AND ELEMENTS OF IDENTIFICATION

Ego - (composite definition) It is sense of self, and it serves as knower, organizer, observer, status seeker, and socialized being.

Ego Strength - (conceptual hypothesis that is used as the basis of discussion) It is a positive self-image as a social being; for example, the more one identifies with the white majority, the greater one's security may be in receiving the rewards of a white oriented outside world, such as pride in family, access to better schools, the possibility of greater financial security, comfortable life style, greater opportunity for choices, and power.

Strategy: Below is a sample checklist of factors which contribute to our sense of identity. The list is to be passed out to each student and ranked in order of importance. A survey is to be taken in class and the order of importance discussed and evaluated.

Students may be assigned the task of tallying the results of the identity check list for discussion and evaluation in class the next day.

The categories of sex, race, social class, religion, nationality, and ethnic group have been deliberately omitted from the students' check list. After the discussion questions on page six (6) have been explored, the teacher should ask students if such an identity check list is really complete. The omitted categories, stated above, should then be generated either through student discussion or teacher lecture to provide an understanding of some crucial identity factors that must be considered.

SAMPLE CHECK LIST

Rank in order of importance from 1 to 20.

money

love

good family situation

good job

success in school

good looks

popularity

friends

material success

health

wealth

knowledge

integrity

family pride

good neighborhood

college education

good athlete

intellectual

loyalty

originality

Discussion Questions:

1. What do the results of the check list mean to you in terms of identity?
2. How can you relate this to the concept of ego strength?
3. How did family pride rank? Is this important or not important to you?
4. Does the school you attend reinforce who you are? (Contrast San Mateo high schools with those of San Francisco.)
5. What does an adequate income mean? How do you spend your holidays?
6. Is your day spent much like your neighbors? Do you eat the same foods; have as much money to spend on clothes, records, movies, and other kinds of pleasures?
7. Is your choice of college a financial burden on your family?
8. Is the list we have been discussing complete? (If there is no response, refer to factors, such as sex, race, social class, religion, ethnic background and nationality. Race as an identity factor should be given special attention.)

A. Identity of Superiority (conceptual hypothesis used as a basis for discussion) Almost every white ethnic group has assimilated into the main stream of American society in spite of their country of origin because

1. There is an underlying belief that White skin has merit.

2. White nationalities have certain commonalities that appear to make them less threatening:

    a. Religious commonality - basically Christian

    b. Although many whites were forced to come as debtors, prisoners, or were even kidnapped, many came voluntarily for political freedom and material acquisition.

    This separates them from other minority groups who were forced to come (Black man), who were religiously different (Asians-Buddhists), or came merely to supplement the labor supply. There was no intention to allow them to settle permanently (Chinese, Japanese, and Mexican labor).

    The underlying psychological feeling is that somehow people of color are different. This attitude continues today in our society and helps benefit and reinforce white superiority; for example,

    a. Economic benefits:

        1) Reduction of competition by excluding members of certain groups from access to benefits, privileges, jobs, or other opportunities or markets.

        2) Exploitation of members of the subordinated groups through lower wages, higher prices, higher rents, less desirable credit terms, or poorer working or living conditions than those received by whites.

        3) Avoidance of certain undesirable or "dead end" jobs (like garbage collection) by creating economically depressed racial or ethnic groups which will be compelled by necessity to carry out those jobs, even though their potential skills level is equal to those of other groups.

    b. Political benefits:

        1) Manipulation of potential non-White voters in order to maintain exclusive white control over an entire governmental structure.

        2) Manipulation of political district boundaries or governmental structures by whites so as to minimize the ability of non-White voters to elect representatives sensitive to their needs.

        3) Exclusion of non-Whites from a proportionate share--or any share--of governmental jobs, contracts, and other disbursements through the decisions of white administrative officials.

4) Maintenance of the support of non-White voters by either white or non-White politicians who fail to provide reciprocal government policy benefits and other advantages to the same degree as for white groups in the electorate.

5) Voter refusal to support a politician who is clearly superior to his opponent, merely because he is not a member of the same racial or color group as the voters themselves and his opponent is.

c. Psychological benefits:

1) Creation of feelings of superiority in comparison to non-Whites; for example, Whites may have better access to a better physical environment than people of color.

2) Suppression in oneself of one's group of certain normal traits which are regarded as undesirable. This is accomplished by projecting an exaggerated image of those traits and "legitimizing" attacks upon them; for example, many American Whites unjustly accuse Mexicans of laziness and Negroes of sexual promiscuity and general irresponsibility.

3) Promotion of solidarity and reduced tension among White nationality and social class groups.

4) Avoiding the necessity of adopting difficult or costly policies to solve key social problems by falsely blaming those problems upon "immoral behavior."

(Based on U.S. Government Report on Racism
January, 1970)

Teacher instruction: The primary focus of this section is the psychological aspect of ego strength which is affected by racism as illustrated in the novel, BLACK BOY, by Richard Wright.

(Note: Similar questions could be used for such novels as

LAUGHING BOY - Oliver La Farge - Native American

NO, NO, BOY - John Okada - Japanese American

Notice the use of the word "boy" in the titles, which carries with it the implication of a pejorative attitude by the white society. All three novels could be used for a single semester course.)

Strategy: Discussion questions centered around the concept of ego strength:

1. What is it to be happy? How can a happy family contribute to ego strength?

2. What sort of things do you think influence minority identity? What might be added or excluded from the original check list given earlier?

3. What do you already know about what minority groups have contributed to this country? (The teacher may have students respond spontaneously while the

teacher writes the responses on the board. It will be interesting to see how many minority groups are listed. A discussion can be evolved out of this tactic.)

4. Why have not minorities contributed more?

B. Social Class (conceptual hypothesis)

There is the desire for social mobility in the American dream. The ditch digger wants to be a carpenter; the carpenter, a building contractor; the building contractor, an engineer or architect. Everyone would like to be the employer and not the employee. Some popular beliefs follow: The more people you can control, the greater your worth. The more money you make, the greater your self-esteem and admiration by others. The more money you make, the smarter you must be. Physical work is disdained, while the thinkers who earn a large income become the ideal of the American dream.

Strategy: The following discussion questions can relate to the above hypothesis:

1. What are your future vocational goals?
2. Do they differ from your parents?
3. How should a realistic pay scale be devised? Should thinkers be paid more than workers?
4. What kinds of jobs would you consider unacceptable?
5. Would a minority person have as wide a choice as you do?
6. What kinds of people should do the menial tasks? How should that be decided?
7. List the qualifications that you think would be necessary for someone to do your father's or mother's work?
8. Would most minority groups have these qualifications?

Note: The questions for discussion are merely an introductory way of enabling the student who may be secure to see how his sense of security as a member of the majority makes it easier for him to make decisions about his sense of identity, his goals, and his future plans. His concern is who he is and how he can prepare himself and qualify for future opportunities.

II. CONSEQUENCES OF RACIST BEHAVIOR FOR THE DOMINANT SOCIETY

A. Human resources are wasted. (conceptual hypothesis) People are paid welfare because they have not been educated and therefore do not have the skills to find jobs. Many people are skilled, but job opportunities are limited. There is a constant unemployment percentage in this country. Who are the people that are unemployed? Who are the "hard core" unemployed?

Strategy: Discussion questions:

1. If you were forced to leave school tomorrow, what kinds of jobs would be available?
2. How could you improve yourself while working?
3. What sacrifices would have to be made in order to work and continue your education?
4. Would you be willing to collect welfare and food stamps if you could not find a job or live at home?

Cognitive domain: Basic skills can be introduced to enable the students to answer the above questions. A lesson on library skills in research and techniques of reading statistical material can be given. In addition, students could learn how statistical material is gathered, how questionnaires are devised, and the art of an oral interview. The following assignments can be given in reference to the above:

1. Students can visit the social welfare department and interview the social workers asking questions which have been devised in class.
2. Sample application forms from each agency could be selected, examined, filled out, and discussed for content.
3. Students could go to the following places to collect statistics on the percentage of minority employment:

hospitals
police force
elementary schools
fire department
civil service

Employers could be interviewed and the result of that interview written up in a report. Questions could be asked, such as how many minority people are employed? Do the various agencies have an ethnic breakdown? The students could analyze the answers given in order to devise a general hypothesis about minority unemployment.

B. America's Ultimate Ideal (conceptual hypothesis). The ultimate ideal of Americans was individual freedom coupled with material success. Individual freedom in a strictly legal sense may be less significant if unaccompanied by reasonable material success.

Strategy: Discussion questions:

1. Ask your grandparents why they came to this country? What was their dream?

2. Ask your parents what their ambitions were when they were young? Do they feel they have succeeded in life in the American way?

3. What is your American dream? How does it differ from your parents and grandparents?

4. Do you think your ideals are similar to the majority?

C. White racism may be creating conditions that may bring about our society's destruction. (conceptual hypothesis) There are more people of color in the world than there are whites. Revolution and violence occur when feelings of superiority lead to oppressive action. A group suffers, a country suffers when people cannot work together constructively in harmony. The U. S. majority has been on the giving end, such as foreign aid, the Peace Corps, and Vista. If people of color are the majority, how should we feel about being the minority in the larger world?

Affective domain: Place students in groups consisting of five or six members. Give them the following directions:

1. A xeroxed copy of an article in the newspaper is to be handed to each group. (Material enclosed on the following page.) The article is about a South African White girl who was transformed into a Black after a gland operation.

2. Their task is to develop a means to demonstrate the dilemma she faces in a racist family and society.

3. The teacher should TV tape one group selected at random for an open-ended class analysis the following day.

4. Students should select a spokesman or chairman for their individual group.

5. They must decide on the manner in which they will discuss the article; for example, an art form, drama, short speech or game, etc.

6. The teacher will not offer to suggest the manner of presentation. The above must be student oriented.

Note: The above strategy is to enable the student to experientially discover how negation may keep creativity from flowing. It will most likely take the class the full period just to pick the spokesman and then decide on the final presentation. It is possible they will not accomplish the task, and may return the next day declaring they are not prepared. If the task is completed, so much the better. If not, the questions listed below can be used as an exploration of negative feelings and emotional energy.

Strategy: Discussion questions:

1. What were your major problems in organization?

2. How did you decide on a spokesman?

THE WHITE GIRL WHO TURNED BLACK

JOHANNESBURG - Jane Anne Peopler is a white girl who through a medical accident has become a black girl.

And in South Africa, where apartheid is the law and whites generally consider themselves socially, morally and physically superior to anyone of dark skin color, the change is considered tragic and "heartbreakingly cruel."

If she had been born non-white, she would not doubt have developed psychological defenses against the system.

But Miss Pepler, 17, and her family, like the majority of whites in South Africa, deeply believe in the superiority of their race and in the system of legal and social segregation.

"I feel the same as I did when I was white," she said.

"But it is terribly humiliating to even go into the street now and know that I am no longer accepted as white. I have not given up hope that I will be white again soon."

Under South African law, Miss Pepler is still legally certified as white. Until a little more than a year ago her skin was typically Caucasian in color.

In December 1970, surgeons removed two adrenal glands which were believed to be causing the girl's obesity problems. The surgery was regarded as successful.

But a few months later, large dark areas began appearing on her neck. The spots spread gradually over her entire body.

Miss Pepler, a high school student at Benoni, 15 miles east of Johannesburg, still is accepted by her family, friends and fellow students as white.

But the stares of hostile white strangers in public places make her cringe.

"This is a tragic thing to happen to anyone anywhere in the world," said her mother, Anna Snyman. "But in South Africa, it is heartbreakingly cruel."

There is a chance that the glandular imbalance which caused the pigmentation change may be corrected.

But meantime Miss Pepler considers herself an outcast in a system where the best of everything is reserved for the privileged white minority.

"It is heartbreaking to see Jane Anne being spurned by people who think she is colored," her mother said.

"Only close friends and family who knew her before the operation know that she is white. Her only proof that she is European are her features and her long flowing hair, but even that has turned dark brown.

"It is particularly embarrassing for us...We believe in white supremacy."

Mrs. Snyman said that she sees no future in South Africa for her daughter unless a miracle happens.

S. F. Chronicle - July 23, 1972

3. How did you choose a task? What were the problems?

4. Did your group cooperate? How?

5. What were your prejudices?

6. What did you think about this assignment?

7. Can you relate your experience to the idea of prejudice in general? What are the destructive elements?

D. Humanistic Progress is impeded by negative feelings about people. (conceptual hypothesis) Psychologically, negative feelings demand much emotional energy. If one is busy being negative, creativity cannot flourish because most of one's energy is directed against something rather than working towards something. There may not be enough energy for both. An example of this might be the energies spent on a fruitless war effort. Domestic concerns are given a much smaller share of the national energy expenditure.

Strategy: Discussion questions:

1. What happens when one thinks a teacher dislikes him? (Distinguish here between obvious and subtle behavior.) How does one work in that class?

2. What happens if the people in your social clique put you down? How do you feel towards them? How does it affect you?

3. Under what conditions in school are you most productive?

4. What happens when your family puts you down? How does it make you feel?

5. Relate your feelings to the concept of racial prejudice. What similarities do you find?

6. How may racial prejudice manifest itself in school, social relations, job opportunities, etc.? Is prejudice always obvious?

7. What subtle forms can put-downs take?

III. EXAMINATION OF RACISM THROUGH THE LARGER WORKS OF FICTION - MODEL EXAMPLE: BLACK BOY

Teacher instruction: The above general topics of discussion should now have prepared the student to continue on to the larger works of fiction. In addition to the general topics which were covered above and can apply to a novel on minority culture, the student will now begin to focus on the following themes:

A. Projection

B. In-group Virtues Become Out-group Vices

C. Ethnocentrism and Racism

An explanation in the form of a conceptual hypothesis will be given for each thematic motif to enable the teacher to effectively convey these concepts to his students.

A. Projection. (conceptual hypothesis) It involves the inability to cope with strong, negative feelings about oneself. The feelings exist; however, they cannot be confronted because they are too painful or fearful. In order to live with such negative feelings and be comfortable, a person will project those feelings onto another, thereby denying such feelings exist. A scapegoat will be chosen.

Eric Erickson has written, "The oppressor has a vested interested in the negative identity of the oppressed because that negative identity is a projection of his own unconscious negative identity--a projection which, to a point, makes him feel superior, but, also, in a brittle way, whole.

One of the functions of the Blacks, historically, has been to serve as the involved symbolic means by which the white might rid himself of guilt, a sense of sin, and everything else from the dark underside that troubled him . . ."

By using the psychological concept of projection, and following the outlines of self-identification as listed in Part B, used for the shorter works of fiction, strategies can be used in assisting students to perceive how projection helps shape Richard Wright's concept of his own identity.

Novel: BLACK BOY - Objective: By comparing one's childhood memories with those portrayed in BLACK BOY, the student will discover how color begins to shape a sense of self-identification in America.

Strategy: Affective domain - Have students draw a floorplan of the first home they can remember before they were five. Have them recall three strong memories associated with this place of childhood: a positive memory, a negative one, and one which is ambiguous.

Cognitive domain: Have the student write accomposition describing these three memories and the emotions which accompanied them. This exercise can serve to instruct students on compositional form, grammar, punctuation, and other skills commensurate with the grade level. In addition, each student should be allowed to read his story before the class or a small group of students which would assist him in presenting an assignment orally.

After the oral presentation, the following questions for discussion should begin:

1. Contrast your childhood memories with Wright's, who experienced such incidents as poverty, killing the cat, desertion of his father, a drunkard at six, fear of the children on the street when he had to go to the store. Were your negative memories just as vivid?

2. Where does prejudice fit in in relation to your early sense of identity? Did people ask you what your nationality was? Your religion?

3. Where does Wright see his individual uniqueness? His isolation? His sense of color? Use the train ride with his mother and his questions about the lightness of his grandmother's skin as his way of forming self-identity.

4. How many times during childhood, from birth to the beginning of high school, did Richard have to move? How many times did you move?

5. How does moving into a new place affect your sense of identity? How did it affect Richard? Compare. Is color the question?

6. If it is a hostile place, how does projection operate? (If people don't like me, is there something wrong with them, or with me?)

7. Contrast the urban and suburban settings -- San Francisco versus the peninsula, Wright's Memphis versus Jackson, Mississippi.

(Other selections may be used in describing the experience of the Southern Black: To Kill a Mockingbird, The Sound and the Fury, Ways of the White Folks, South Town, Black Like Me. See listings at the end of the unit.)

Use the same techniques as listed above, and discuss the memories of elementary and high school experiences.

1. How did Richard react to school? He was unable to recite or perform any task in front of the class. Contrast his reaction to your experiences. What are the differences? What is the common experience?

2. What were the teacher attitudes toward Richard? Kindly? Angry? What were your own experiences with teachers? Distinguish between obvious and subtle attitudes expressed or implied.

Additional questions can revolve around the first employment a student had.

1. How did Richard feel about the jobs he took, such as household chores, the lumber yard, selling newspapers, and the optical company? What were the attitudes of his employer?

2. What kinds of jobs have you had? How did your employer treat you?

3. Contrast your experience with Richard's. How does the question of color enter into employment?

B. Self-fulfilling Prophecy: In-group Virtues Become Out-group Vices.

Teacher instruction: Below you will find a brief explanation for the above thematic motif. It is not necessary to explain this concept to the students in the same manner. The explanation is given in order to familiarize and enable you to deal with this concept effectively.

1. Self-fulfilling prophecy:

Reference should be made to the earlier discussions concerning the concept of self-identity wherein the student became aware that one aspect of identity is shaped by his society, that is, parents, relatives, friends, teachers, and employers. (conceptual hypothesis) The way people in society respond to one carries with it a criteria of expectation. An example of this can be found in a study made in an elementary school in South San Francisco under the auspices of the school principal, Mrs. Jacobs. A group of Chicano youngsters who had been considered low achievers were placed in a new classroom setting. The teacher was told or believed that these students were high achievers. The results were phenomenal. The teacher's expectations became the self-fulfilling prophecy. She assumed these students were high achievers, taught them as if they were, and they became high achievers.

Another example which is quite common with most teachers is when a student is placed in a class who has a reputation for being a trouble maker. He may come into the class with the idea of reforming and attempting to be cooperative; however, the teacher is already predisposed to expecting previous behavior patterns. The teacher may inadvertently be hostile, waiting for symptoms of a particular behavior syndrome to occur. The student may indeed misbehave in a minor way, but because the teacher is already conditioned to expect this behavior, the teacher overreacts. The consequences result in the self-fulfilling prophecy; that is, the student reverts to the old pattern which has been reinforced by the teacher's initial response. The self-fulfilling prophecy is completed. The prediction that the student will be a troublemaker is fulfilled.

Strategy: Cognitive - composition assignment/oral skills. Have students write a one or two page composition discussing a difficult relationship with a teacher, employer, or peer leader. This composition should be written after the concept of the self-fulfilling prophecy has been discussed.

Discussion questions: The expectation of your role as a member of your family

1) If you are the oldest child in your family, you are expected to set an example for your younger brothers and sisters. You may also have more privileges. Was this true of Richard?

2) If you are the middle child, the expectations of your behavior are compared to the expectations of your older brothers and sisters. Was this true of Richard?

3) If you are the youngest, the expectations may be much easier than for the oldest child or more difficult. Was this true of Richard?

4) List the kinds of expectations of the people surrounding Richard. Mother? Grandmother? Aunts? Friends? White society?

2. In-group virtues become out-group vices

This concept is more difficult to define because of its subtleties. Stereotypes are also included. Robert Merton in his book Social Theory and Social Structure, notes the following example of the above theme:

a. Use of language - euphemistic terms

1) I am firm - positive

2) You are obstinate - slight negation

3) He is pigheaded - complete negation

All three of the above terms essentially mean the same thing, but the feeling-content differs. The word, firm, has a positive connotation, while obstinate or pigheaded has negative connotations. The same concept applies to the larger society and also influences the way we look at minority groups:

larger society:

1) A firm American gladly pledges the flag.

2) An obstinate American gladly pledges the flag.

3) A pigheaded American gladly pledges the flag.

In all three examples, the American is doing the same thing, but the way in which each are viewed immediately changes the attitude toward the person doing the action.

Strategy: Have students use Roget's Thesaurus and find synonyms selected from the following list of words which influence additional responses:

cooperative
honest
energetic
idealistic
law abiding
mature
polite
unemotional
self respecting
good looking
jovial
kind
orderly
conventional
extroverted
careful
strong willed
humble

brave
sensitive
frugal
sincere
convincing
enthusiastic
romantic
lazy
immature
boorish
servile
sickly
eccentric
naive
passive
weak willed
proud
cowardly

Use an ethnic group as the subject of the sentences which contain the various synonyms. Have students read their sentences aloud and discuss what attitudes would be toward the minority group which change in "feeling-content" when applied to the dominant society.

Example:

A White-American is clever. A Black-American is clever.

A White-American is shrewd. A Black-American is shrewd.

A White-American is sly. A Black-American is sly.

Where do the racial overtones come in?

Another example which could be used in reference to the "feeling-content" of words is to compare the qualities of a well-known hero, such as Abe Lincoln, to an out-group minority person, such as someone called Abe Kurokawa. As Merton notes, "... The very same behavior undergoes a complete change of evaluation in its transition from the in-group Abe Lincoln to the out-group . . .Abe Kurokawa . . . Did Lincoln work far into the night? This testifies that he was industrious, resolute, perseverant, and eager to realize his capacities to the full. Do the out-group Japanese keep these same hours? This only bears witness to their sweatshop mentality, their ruthless undercutting of American standards, their unfair competitive practices . . . All honor is due the in-group Abe for his having been smart, shrewd, and intelligent, and, by the same token, all contempt is owing the out-group Abe for (his) being sharp, cunning, crafty, and too clever by far."

Strategy: Using the above examples, have students list the qualities that Richard believes he possesses as a person, and have them contrast those qualities with the negative way his family and society perceive him.

Example:	Richard's self-image	Family's image	White society's image
	strong sense of ego	sinful pride	too uppity

Countee Cullen's poem, Incident, can also be used as a supplement to this concept.

Once riding in old Baltimore. .heart-filled,
head filled with glee, I saw
A Baltimorean. .keep looking straight at me.
Now I was eight and very small
And he was no whit bigger. .and so I smiled,
But he poked out his tongue,
And called me, "nigger." I saw the whole
of Baltimore. . .From May until
December. . .Of all the things that happened
There. . .that's all that I remember.

Discussion questions:

1) What was the narrator's original conception of his self-identity?

2) How do you think his sense of self-identity was altered after the young man stuck out his tongue?

3) Why do you think the young man stuck out his tongue?

4) Can you apply the concept of projection to the above question?

5) How did the narrator feel after this happened?

6) What kind of self-fulfilling prophecy could occur?

7) Can you find a memory out of your own experience, when you were eight and in the third grade, that was similar to the narrator's feeling of being put down?

Cognitive domain: Students could write a creative composition comparing their experiences with that of the voice in the above poem. The paper should be focussed on at least one of the three concepts of identity, projection, or self-fulfilling prophecy.

3. Stereotypes

Coupled with the concept of in-group virtues become out-group vices are the stereotype evaluations which help predetermine our behavioral attitudes toward minority groups.

Example: If an Asian American student is assigned to your class, what may be your expectations? You may expect him to exhibit behavior patterns based on stereotyped notions of his "Asianness;" for example, high grade achievement, conformity to classroom rules, obedience, respectfulness, and greater interest in the math and sciences because they do not require to a high degree an involvement with people. The above attributes would be considered virtues reflecting the student's "Asianness." If such a student did not conform to this pattern, he might be regarded as a trouble maker, for he does not perform and give the teacher what the teacher wants and expects. He would no longer be regarded as a virtuous Asian American, but perhaps as untypical or an abnormal Asian American student, whereas extroverted behavior in a Caucasian would merely be regarded as normal and to be expected.

The above, of course, is an exaggeration, but helps clarify the concept of stereotyped behavior which contributes to the self-fulfilling prophecy; there is also disappointment when expectations are not fulfilled.

Enclosed is an illustrative selection from BLACK BOY which can be discussed in terms of the above topic.

Discussion questions: Compare Richard's earlier experiences with his later experiences in regard to the following:

a. What is the white woman's expectation when she asks Richard if he steals? How does this fit into the concept of the self-fulfilling prophecy?

b. How is Richard affected by her question? How would regarding Blacks as children become a self-fulfilling prophecy?

BLACK BOY (Harper and Row, p. 219)

"But I, who stole nothing, who wanted to look them straight in the face, who wanted to talk and act like a man, inspired fear in them. The southern whites would rather have had Negroes who stole, work for them than Negroes who knew, however dimly, the worth of their own humanity. Hence, whites placed a premium upon black deceit; they encouraged irresponsibility and their rewards were bestowed upon us blacks in the degree that we could make them feel safe and superior."

c. Why does Richard believe the White society encourages Negro theft?

d. Is theft ever acceptable? Do you condone Richard's theft? Why or why not?

e. Can you apply the above to the concept that in-group virtues become out-group vices?

ATTITUDES OF WHITES AND BLACKS TOWARD EACH OTHER IN THE 1920'S

The next two selections are taken from Richard Wright's autobiography, Black Boy, in which he tells about his childhood and teenage years during the 1920's--a time when violence and the threat of violence were commonly used against black people in the South.

As you read, look for the attitudes that whites and blacks had toward each other.

DO YOU STEAL?

The next day at school I inquired among the students about jobs and was given the name of a white family who wanted a boy to do chores. That afternoon, as soon as school had let out, I went to the address. A tall, dour white woman talked to me: Yes, she needed a boy, an honest boy. Two dollars a week. Mornings, evenings, and all day Saturdays. Washing dishes. Chopping wood. Scrubbing floors. Cleaning the yard. I would get my breakfast and dinner. As I asked timid questions, my eyes darted about. What kind of food would I get? Was the place as shabby as the kitchen indicated?

"Do you want this job?" the woman asked.

"Yes, ma'am," I said, afraid to trust my own judgment.

"Now, boy, I want to ask you one question and I want you to tell me the truth," she said.

"Yes, ma'am," I said, all attention.

"Do you steal?" she asked me seriously.

I burst into a laugh, then checked myself.

"What's so damn funny about that?" she asked.

"Lady, if I was a thief, I'd never tell anybody."

"What do you mean?" she blazed with a red face.

I had made a mistake during my first five minutes in the white world. I hung my head.

"No, ma'am," I mumbled. "I don't steal."

She stared at me, trying to make up her mind.

"Now, look, we don't want a sassy nigger around here," she said.

"No, ma'am," I assured her. "I'm not sassy."

Promising to report the next morning at six o'clock, I walked home and pondered on what could have possibly been in the woman's mind to have made her ask me point-blank if I stole. Then I recalled hearing that white people looked upon Negroes as a variety of children, and it was only in the light of that that her question made any sense. If I had been planning to murder her, I certainly would not have told her and, rationally, she had no doubt realized it. Yet habit had overcome her rationality and had made her ask me: "Boy, do you steal?" Only an idiot would have answered: "Yes, ma'am. I steal."...

...When I returned (from my chores the next morning) the woman said:

"Your breakfast is in the kitchen."

"Thank you, ma'am."

I saw a plate of thick, black molasses and a hunk of white bread on the table. Would I get no more than this? They had had eggs, bacon, coffee...I picked up the bread and tried to break it; it was stale and hard. Well, I would drink the molasses. I lifted the plate and brought it to my lips and saw floating on the surface of the black liquid green and white bits of mold. Goddamn...I can't eat this, I told myself. The food was not even clean. The woman came into the kitchen as I was putting on my coat.

"You didn't eat," she said.

"No, ma'am," I said. "I'm not hungry."

"You'll eat at home? she asked hopefully.

"Well, I just wasn't hungry this morning, ma'am," I lied.

"You don't like molasses and bread," she said dramatically.

"Oh, yes, ma'am, I do," I defended myself quickly, not wanting her to think that I dared criticize what she had given me.

"I don't know what's happening to you niggers nowadays," she sighed, wagging her head. She looked closely at the molasses. "It's a sin to throw out molasses like that. I'll put it up for you this evening."

"Yes, ma'am," I said heartily.

Neatly she covered the plate of molasses with another plate, then felt the bread and dumped it into the garbage. She turned to me, her face lit with an idea.

"What grade are you in school?"

"Seventh, ma'am."

"Then why are you going to school?" she asked in surprise.

"Well, I want to be a writer," I mumbled, unsure of myself; I had not planned to tell her that, but she had made me feel so utterly wrong and of no account that I needed to bolster myself (pick up my spirits).

"A what?" she demanded.

"A writer," I mumbled.

"For what?"

"To write stories," I mumbled defensively.

"You'll never be a writer," she said. "Who on earth put such ideas into your nigger head?"

"Nobody," I said.

"I didn't think anybody ever would," she declared indignantly.

As I walked around her house to the street, I knew that I would not go back.

PROUD OF HIS RACE..

A few years later, in 1925, Wright moved to Memphis, Tennessee, where he got a job running errands and washing eyeglasses for an optical company. He describes some of the people he worked with.

The most colorful of the Negro boys on the job was Shorty, the round, yellow, fat elevator operator....Hardheaded, sensible, a reader of magazines and books, he was proud of his race and indignant about its wrongs. But in the presence of whites he would play the role of a clown of the most debased (low) and degraded type.

One day he needed twenty-five cents to buy his lunch.

"Just watch me get a quarter from the first white man I see," he told me as I stood in the elevator that morning.

"I'm hungry, Mister White Man. I need a quarter for lunch."

The white man ignored him. Shorty, his hands on the controls of the elevator, sang again: "I ain't gonna move this damned old elevator till I get a quarter, Mister White Man."

"The hell with you, Shorty," the white man said, ignoring him and chewing on his black cigar.

"I'm hungry, Mister White Man. I'm dying for a quarter," Shorty sang, drooling, drawling, humming his words.

"If you don't take me to my floor, you will die," the white man said, smiling a little for the first time.

"But this black...sure needs a quarter," Shorty sang, grimacing, clowning, ignoring the white man's threat.

"Come on, you black...I got to work," the white man said ....

"It'll cost you twenty-five cents, Mister White Man; just a quarter, just two bits," Shorty moaned.

There was silence. Shorty threw the level and the elevator went up and stopped about five feet shy of the floor upon which the white man worked.

"Can't go no more, Mister White Man, unless I get my quarter," he said in a tone that sounded like crying.

"What would you do for a quarter?" the white man asked, still gazing off.

"I'll do anything for a quarter," Shorty sang.

"What, for example?" the white man asked.

Shorty giggled, swung around, bent over, and poked out his broad, fleshy (behind)...

"You can kick me for a quarter," he sang....

The white man laughed softly, jingled some coins in his pocket, took out one and thumped it to the floor. Shorty stooped to pick it up and the white man bared his teeth and swung his foot into Shorty's rump with all the strength of his body. Shorty let out a howling laugh that echoed up and down the elevator shaft.

"Now, open this door, you goddamn black..." the white man said, smiling with tight lips.

"Yeeeeess, siiiir," Shorty sang.....

He opened the door and the white man stepped out and looked back at Shorty as he went toward his office.

"You're all right, Shorty..." he said.

"I know it!" Shorty screamed, then let his voice trail off in a gale of wild laughter.

I witnessed this scene or...(one like it) at least a score of times and I felt no anger or hatred, only disgust and loathing. Once I asked him:

"How in God's name can you do that?"

"I needed a quarter and I got it," he said soberly, proudly.
"But a quarter can't pay you for what he did to you," I said.
"Listen, nigger," he said to me, "my ass is tough and quarters is scarce."
I never discussed the subject with him after that.

Questions:

1) What is Wright's attitude toward the White woman who hired him?

2) In what way is the attitude of the White woman toward Negroes similar to that of Mrs. Logue toward Rev. Loguen?

3) How does Shorty view White people? Why does he let the White man kick him?

4) How might Shorty's attitude be compared to the attitude of Negroes under slavery? How might the White man's attitude be compared to the attitude of whites in the days of slavery?

5) Are there many Negroes today who behave toward Negroes like the White man and woman did in the Wright selections?

Discussion questions - "Proud of His Race"

1) What is Shorty's concept of self-identity?

2) What is his rationale for playing the "nigger" role?

3) How does the self-fulfilling prophecy apply to this scene?

4) Is Richard humiliated by this incident?

5) Does this incident affect Richard's self-identity later in the novel?

C. Ethnocentricism and Racism: Northern Urban Experience vs. Southern Rural Experience

Teacher instruction: The students should review the concept of ethnocentrism. (The concept that one's family tradition and ethnic background contained superior traits which helped contribute to the American tradition). This concept should be explored, and a new focus introduced in the following manner:

1) How may ethnocentrism lead to racism?

Strategy: Historical and sectional investigation

1. Northern ethnic groups - Urban experience.

Students can be given individual projects of investigation into their own ethnic backgrounds and contributions. A lesson can be given on the fundamentals of a research paper, footnoting, and bibliographical form. The objective is to have students write a paper on what their ethnic tradition has contributed to American life. They should use personal sources, i.e., experiences of grandparents and other relatives, plus several source books dealing with the particular period and section of the U.S., focusing on urban life and ethnic ghettos. If they are not ethnic, but thoroughly assimilated white Anglo-Saxons, they might explore what that heritage implies and its significance.

2. Ethnic myths - Racism - Techniques of propaganda.

   a. A two-day lesson can be given on the basic fundamentals of propaganda:

      Elements of propaganda

      1) CASUAL OVERSIMPLIFICATION: Explaining a complex event by reference to only one or two probable causes, when many are responsible.

      2) RATIONALIZATION: Citing reasons or causes in an attempt to justify a certain action, when the reasons or causes cited are not logically related to the action.

      3) WISHFUL THINKING: Believing a statement to be true because one wants it to be true.

      4) TABLOID THINKING: Oversimplifying a complex set of circumstances. The tabloid thinker prefers quick summaries and has the habit of "putting things in a nutshell."

      5) EMOTIONAL TERMS: Any words or phrases which arounse a feeling for or against a particular object, event, person, or idea.

      6) AMBIGUITY: A word or phrase that can have two or more quite different meanings.

      7) QUOTATION OUT OF CONTEXT: An excerpt taken from a larger statement in a manner that may change or distort the meaning of the original.

      8) SIMILE AND METAPHOR: Figures of speech making comparisons of unlike things. A simile uses such words as "like" or "as"; a metaphor makes comparisons indirectly or through implication.

      Periodicals from 1910-1940 can be researched and examined for racial propagandistic writing.

Strategy: Using the above eight (8) points of elements of propaganda, list examples from "The Remarks of Honorable John E. Rankin of Mississippi" (below) where each propagandistic element is used, and explain why this was effective in convincing the reader. A paragraph should be written for each point.

Remarks of Hon. John E. Rankin of Mississippi

I expect to continue calling the attention of this House to the fact that American and her insular possessions, especially Hawaii, are teeming with

Japanese spies and Japanese fifth columnists. We must get rid of the last one of them. The way to do it is to put every single Japanese in a concentration camp for the duration of the emergency.

They are not citizens of the United States under the fourteenth amendment. Their parents were merely visitors here who could not become citizens under our law, and when their children were born they were born subjects of Japan. In turn, when children of those children were born, they, too, were subjects of Japan. They recognized that relationship. They are in sympathy with Japan in all of her attacks on the white nations of the earth. The sooner we put the last one of them into concentration camps and take them out of the danger zones the better off we will be.

Here is a statement written by the daughter of an officer in our Navy which I hope you will all take time to read. It points out very forcefully the seriousness of the situation. It reads as follows:

All Japanese American born and aliens must be placed in concentration camps at once. There must be no half measures. Any one of them may jeopardize the lives and safety of hundreds, especially in Hawaii and in California and their fifth column may cause us to lose these places and Alaska to Japan. The sexes must be kept absolutely separate. Only in concentration camps can they be later exchanged for our people now imprisoned in Japan.

It is unthinkable that Japan is allowing any white people freedom there. Why should we allow them freedom here? Many of the present half measures now being taken are worse than useless. They lull our people into a false sense of security. A few hundred Japs rounded up from Terminal Island only gives warning to the rest of them to be careful or to go into hiding into the mountains or escape to Mexico. I believe that the majority of their main spies have gone to South America or to sea already, but have left means for reaccess to this country and have an underground railway well disciplined for mass action when they choose to strike. Singapore has fallen. They may strike soon. Having all alien Japanese register and carry identification cards, having them turn in all radios, cameras, and firearms and having the Army empowered to remove some of them living near vital areas en masse will not end this terrible danger. With each commanding Army officer there will be varying degrees of surveillance and pressure will bear on him to spare certain groups because of agricultural needs. Among those not taken into custody or removed there will be a huge fifth column left to cause us losses only to be recovered by heavy fighting.

Undoubtedly cruel "bushido" methods are being used in Japan to get secret information from individuals and rubber-hose beatings as they used on reporters and other white people long before December 7. So far, we have no Japanese prisoners of war. They have 1100 sailors and marines from Wake Island as well as 1200 civilian workmen from there along. They claim the capture of 200 allied merchant ships and the men aboard are now prisoners. Americans are now being put to work for Japan. Many from Manila, etc., are in their hands. The Japanese are treating American prisoners better than they do the British and Dutch mainly because of the several hundred thousand Japanese in our midst. We must not let this valuable asset escape gradually over the border or by sea, but must use them as the hostages they really are for the good treatment and final exchange for Americans. Our only hope to have a semblance of fair treatment for our people imprisoned there is to keep all those of Japanese ancestry here where they are confined and can do no harm.

We can rid America of this pyramiding danger now. We must insist on keeping the sexes separate, or they will use this internment time as an incubating period and in five years each family may emerge with five more children. Unconfined, in one generation we will have five times and in two generations, 25 times as many Japanese to cope with. This is our golden opportunity to rid the United States of them for good. The Japanese will be glad to go while Japan is successful and Japan will welcome them and release Americans in exchange. Many Japanese left Hawaii and California to live in Japan again during our depression years and they knew the going will be more than hard for them here from now on. Among the thousands of aliens and the American-born Japanese, who have all been exposed to propaganda teaching at their language schools for years, too many have an important part assigned them for mass destruction and murder in a surprise attack to paralyze us that would make Pearl Harbor pale by comparison. These fifth columnists cannot be weeded out, but all must be confined for our self-preservation.

Nothing short of every Japanese--American-born or not--in concentration camps with the sexes absolutely separate will give any real measure of security. Every day's delay may cost us heavily in loss of life and property and lose us our outposts of Hawaii and Alaska and our west coast states. Immediate action is imperative.

Congressional Record, 3/10/42

Questions

1) What arguments does Mr. Rankin and his letter writer present to support their case against the Japanese Americans?

2) What evidence is presented to support their arguments?

3) What dangers exist according to the authors?

4) What remedies are suggested?

5) What logic is used in the letter? Why?

6) Based upon the evidence presented, what action should the United States take?

b. Have students use their research paper as the basis for writing a propaganda treatise which can be inferred as racist.

c. BLACK BOY - Reference is made to the newspapers that Richard sold. In what way were they propaganda?

3. Southern chivalry and rural life

a. Historical background can be given on the myths of southern chivalry and how it contributed to racism.

1) Romantic influence from Europe

2) Virginia cavaliers

3) Plantation as an imitation of ancient Greece - master/slave relationship

4) Imitation of feudal lordship

5) Influence of the Walter Scott novels and the chivalric code

Sources: Spiller's Literary History of the U. S.
Parrington's Main Currents in American Thought
Vol. II The Romantic Revolution in America

b. Selections from Huck Finn can be used as a supplementary text.

1) Huck's refusal to betray "Nigger Jim" and his willingness to accept the consequence of hell, fire, and brimstone.

2) The feuding families: Grangerfords vs. Shepherdsons, as examples of the mythical conceptions of chivalry.

c. BLACK BOY - Historical perspective

Examine and discuss the attitudes of whites in Mississippi using the new knowledge of Southern Tradition:

1) Envy and fear of Black success - Uncle Hoskins' death.

2) Educational control - Black self-image of inferiority. Aunt Addie, Uncle Tom, and the school principal.

3) Lack of opportunities - conspiracy of ignorance. Richard is closed to education. The optical company experience, and his inability to use the public library.

d. In addition to the three (3) major thematic motifs of projection, self-fulfilling prophecy, ethnocentrism and racism, the traditional English approaches can also be incorporated.

1) Biographical approach - Students can read other author's description of Wright's life. They can trace the influences of his early southern life to his decision to leave the United States.

2) Exegetical material - Students can read critical essays regarding the style of Wright's prose and his literary concerns.

3) Historical approach - A comparison can be made, i.e., a Southern Black during pre-WW I days and the Black experience today. The biography of Martin Luther King, Jr. could be contrasted.

e. Examples of mass media materials:

Negroes: Tape - Alex Haley
Films- Nothing But a Man
Raisin in the Sun
One Potato, Two Potato (See Black Bibliography California State College, Hayward)

Japanese Americans: Films- Mother Country

Native Americans: Films- End of the Trail

Final notes on other ethnic groups - BLACK BOY was used as the selection in developing this model. Needless to say, the model can be used for other minority groups; however, the teacher must be aware that the experiences of each minority group differ somewhat. When teaching Native American, Chicano, or Asian American literature, there will, of necessity, be changes in the questions. We feel, however, that this model is flexible enough to allow for variations.

SECTION E

IDENTITY UNIT - SHORT STORIES AND POEMS

IDENTITY UNIT - SHORT STORIES AND POEMS

Introduction to the Materials of the Unit:

Reams of curriculum materials have been developed to teach the majority White person about the cultures, literature, and traditions of minority people, and yet the use of these materials seems to have effected little reduction in racial prejudice among either the majority or the minorities. Hence, this English/Social Studies Multicultural Curriculum Workshop has operated on the premise that if one is to find a solution to the problems of racism, one must first become aware of his own attitudes and prejudices towards others.

Since the ability to define one's relationship with others depends upon one's own answers to the questions "Who am I?" and "How did I get to be this way?," the following unit has been developed around the concept of identity. All of the literature deals with the theme of identity. A list is included to suggest how each of the works may be taught in the majority of the English classes offered throughout the district. Although a class on American literature and another on modern poetry might rely upon different works, both classes can draw upon the following material for a unit on identity. While the works suggested for study and the bibliography are by no means exhaustive, they represent a cross-sampling through time and cultures of varied genres of literature whose theme is identity.

Most of the questions for discussion focus upon the identity of fictional characters. The supplementary projects, on the other hand, tend to help the students gain a more direct awareness of their own identities. Both the classroom discussions and the supplementary projects should enable a student to move towards the intellectual knowledge of the concept of racial identity, and, ultimately, to a more personal awareness of his own identity.

Also included are a bibliography of other short works of literature and an annotated list of films, all of which focus on the identity concept.

THE UNIT: Identity

TEACHER OBJECTIVES:

To increase the students' awareness of their own identities through the study of literature.

To enable the students to differentiate between self-awareness and socially imposed identity.

To present the theme of identity in works of literature from diverse ethnic and cultural traditions.

STUDENT OBJECTIVES:

To probe the identity of several fictional characters.

To discover parallels between the identities of fictional characters and his own.

To focus briefly on the cultures of the Asian American, Black American, Native American, Chicano, and White American as revealed through short stories, essays, and poetry.

PROCEDURE:

Assign students one or more of the following suggested works of literature. Any other work dealing with the theme of identity may be used. Not all of the works herein included need to be used to meet the objectives.

Discuss the identity of the main character. Appropriate questions for discussion follow each of the suggested works. Other strategies or supplementary projects are also included to provide for varied responses to the works.

Encourage the students to relate to the identity of the main character(s).

TIME:

Each of the suggested works is short enough to be read as an overnight assignment and discussed in class the following day. Some of them are short enough to be read at the start of class and discussed immediately. (One technique of presentation is to have the teacher read the work aloud with the students silently following along with their copy of the work.)

The supplementary projects may be assigned for completion within one or two weeks.

SUGGESTED WORKS	APPROPRIATE FOR USE IN THESE CLASSES
"Smohalla Speaks"	American Literature Native American Literature
"Relocation"	American Literature Modern Poetry Native American Literature
"Son in the Afternoon"	Black Literature Modern Literature American Literature Short Story
"Alarm Clock"	Black Literature Modern Poetry American Literature
"Merry-Go-Round"	Black Literature Modern Poetry American Literature
"The Tyger" and "Yet, Do I Marvel"	English Literature Modern Poetry Black Literature
"Sanchez"	Short Story Chicano Literature American Literature
"I Am Joaquin"	Modern Poetry Chicano Literature American Literature
"A Tribute to Our Ancestors"	American Literature Modern Poetry Asian American Literature
"the trouble with losing face is, you become invisible"	Modern Literature American Literature Modern Poetry Asian American Literature
"My Face"	American Literature Essay

SMOHALLA SPEAKS

My young men shall never work. Men who work cannot dream, and wisdom comes in dreams.

You ask me to plow the ground. Shall I take a knife and tear my mother's breast? Then when I die she will not take me to her bosom to rest.

You ask me to dig for stone. Shall I dig under her skin for bones? Then when I die I cannot enter her body to be born again.

You ask me to cut grass and make hay and sell it, and be rich like white men. But how dare I cut off my mother's hair?

It is a bad law, and my people cannot obey it. I want my people to stay with me here. All the dead men will come to life again. We must wait here in the house of our fathers and be ready to meet them in the body of our mother.

By the Nez Percé

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS - "SMOHALLA SPEAKS"

1. Who is the speaker?
2. Who is the "you" in this statement?
3. What is the relationship of the speaker to the land?
4. Does your perception of the land differ from that of the speaker?
5. What gives the speaker the right to call it "a bad law?" How do you decide whether a law or a custom is bad or good?
6. What does the speaker believe will happen to him when he dies?

RELOCATION

don't talk to me no words
don't frighten me
for i am in the blinding city
the lights
the cars
the deadened glares
    tear my heart
    & close my mind

who questions my pain
the tight knot of anger
in my breast
i swallow hard and often
and taste my spit
and it does not taste good
who questions my mind

i came here because i was tired
the BIA taught me to cleanse myself
daily to keep a careful account of my time
efficiency was learned in catechism
the sisters spelled me god in white
and i came here to feed myself
corn & potatoes and chili and mutton
did not nourish me it was said

so i agreed to move
i see me walking in sleep
down streets grey with cement
and glaring glass and oily wind
armed with a pint of wine
i cheated my children to buy
i am ashamed
i am tired
i am hungry
i speak words
i am lonely for hills
i am lonely for myself

By Simon Ortiz

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS - "RELOCATION"

1. What is the BIA?

2. Who is the speaker?

3. How would you describe his feelings?

4. Why does the speaker feel this way? Have you ever felt like that? Why? Could you escape the conditions which gave you these feelings? Can the speaker?

5. What qualities of the White world are alien to this Indian's culture? What problems does this feeling of being an alien have for an Indian moving into a White culture?

6. How does the lack of punctuation contribute to the force of the poem?

7. As many as fifty percent of the estimated one million and a half Indians in America are throught to live in urban areas. Relocation--the multimillion-dollar government program of job training and urban adjustment--yearly entices thousands of reservation Indians to undertake the trek to the city.

   If you and your family have ever moved, did you find the adjustment easy or difficult? What do you miss about your former home and way of life? What promises does your new home offer to you?

8. Do minority persons have more adjustment difficulties when moving from place place in America? Describe in terms of your own experiences.

SUPPLEMENTARY PROJECT - "RELOCATION"

Students are to go to another classroom (or school, if possible) and spend a period (or longer) observing and attempting to take part in the activities.

Upon their subsequent return they may describe their feelings about having been placed in an unfamiliar situation. What differences did they observe? What processes did they have to go through in adjusting to the new situation?

This experience can be related to other moves the students have made and finally to the forced migrations of the Indian tribes of North America and to the forced moves of other minority groups (i.e., Japanese internment during World War II, importation of Coolies for railroad construction, importation of Blacks for work on southern plantations, etc.). How does the forced migration of minority groups differ from the students' "moving" experiences?

SON IN THE AFTERNOON

From "The Angry Black"
By John A. Williams

It was hot. I tend to be a bitch when it's hot. I goosed the little Ford over Sepulveda Boulevard toward Santa Monica until I got stuck in the traffic that pours from L.A. into the surrounding towns. I'd had a very lousy day at the studio.

I was--still am--a writer and this studio had hired me to check scripts and films with Negroes in them to make sure the Negro moviegoer wouldn't be offended. The signs were already clear one day the whole of American industry would be racing pell-mell to get a Negro, showcase a spade. I was kind of a pioneer. I'm a Negro writer, you see. The day had been tough because of a couple of verbs--slink and walk. One of those Hollywood hippies had done a script calling for a Negro waiter to slink away from the table where a dinner party was glaring at him. I said the waiter should walk, not slink, because later on he becomes a hero. The Hollywood hippie, who understood it all because he had some colored friends, said that it was essential to the plot that the waiter slink. I said you don't slink one minute and become a hero the next; there has to be some consistency. The Negro actor I was standing up for said nothing either way. He had played Uncle Tom roles so long that he had become Uncle Tom. But the director agreed with me.

Anyway ... hear me out now. I was on my way to Santa Monica to pick up my mother, Nora. It was a long haul for such a hot day. I had planned a quiet evening: a nice shower, fresh clothes, and then I would have dinner at the Watkins and talk with some of the musicians on the scene for a quick taste before they cut to their gigs. After, I was going to the Pigalle down on Figueroa and catch Earl Grant at the organ, and still later, if nothing exciting happened, I'd pick up Scottie and make it to the Lighthouse on the Beach or to the Strollers and listen to some of the white boys play. I liked the long drive, especially while listening to Sleepy Stein's show on the radio. Later, much later of course, it would be home, back to Watts.

So you see, this picking up Nora was a little inconvenient. My mother was a maid for the Couchmans. Ronald Couchman was an architect, a good one I understood from Nora who has a fine sense for this sort of thing; you don't work in some hundred-odd houses during your life without getting some idea of the way a house should be laid out. Couchman's wife, Kay, was a playgirl who drove a white Jaguar from one party to another. My mother didn't like her too much; she didn't seem to care much for her son, Ronald, junior. There's something wrong with a parent who can't really love her own child, Nora thought. The Couchmans lived in a real fine residential section, of course. A number of actors lived nearby, character actors, not really big stars.

Somehow it is very funny. I mean that the maids and butlers knew everything about these people, and these people knew nothing at all about the help. Through Nora and her friends I knew who was laying whose wife; who had money and who really had money; I knew about the wild parties hours before the police, and who smoked marijuana, when, and where they got it.

To get to Couchman's driveway I had to go three blocks up one side of a palm-planted center strip and back down the other. The driveway bent gently, then swept back out of sight of the main road. The house, sheltered by slim palms, looked like a transplanted New England Colonial. I parked and walked to the kitchen door, skirting the growling Great Dane who was tied to a tree. That was the route to the kitchen door.

I don't like kitchen doors. Entering people's houses by them, I mean. I'd done this thing most of my life when I called at places where Nora worked to pick up the patched or worn sheets or the half-eaten roasts, the battered, tarnished silver--the fringe benefits of a housemaid. As a teen-ager I'd told Nora I was through with that crap; I was not going through anyone's kitchen door. She only laughed and said I'd learn. One day soon after, I called for her and without knocking walked right through the front door of this house and right on through the living room. I was almost out of the room when I saw feet behind the couch. I leaned over and there was Mr. Jorgensen and his wife making out like crazy. I guess they thought Nora had gone and it must have hit them sort of suddenly and they went at it like the hell-bomb was due to drop any minute. I've been that way too, mostly in spring. Of course, when Mr. Jorgensen looked over his shoulder and saw me, you know what happened. I was thrown out and Nora right behind me. It was the middle of winter, the old man was sick and the coal bill three months overdue. Nora was right about those kitchen doors: I learned.

My mother saw me before I could ring the bell. She opened the door. "Hello," she said. She was breathing hard, like she'd been running or something. "Come in and sit down. I don't know where that Kay is. Little Ronald is sick and she's probably out gettin' drunk again." She left me then and trotted back through the house, I guess to be with Ronnie. I hated the combination of her white nylon uniform, her dark brown face and the wide streaks of gray in her hair. Nora had married this guy from Texas a few years after the old man had died. He was all right. He made out okay. Nora didn't have to work, but she just couldn't be still; she always had to be doing something. I suggested she quit work, but I had as much luck as her husband. I used to tease her about liking to be around those white folks. It would have been good for her to take an extended trip around the country visiting my brothers and sisters. Once she got to Philadelphia, she could go right out to the cemetery and sit awhile with the old man.

I walked through the Couchman home. I liked the library. I thought if I knew Couchman I'd like him. The room made me feel like that. I left it and went into the big living room. You could tell that Couchman had let his wife do that. Everything in it was fast, dart-like with no sense of ease. But on the walls were several of Couchman's conceptions of buildings and homes. I guess he was a disciple of Wright. My mother walked rapidly through the room without looking at me and said, "Just be patient, Wendell. She should be here real soon."

"Yeah," I said, "with a snootful." I had turned back to the drawings when Ronnie scampered into the room, his face twisted with rage.

"Nora!" he tried to roar, perhaps the way he'd seen the parents of some of his friends roar at their maids. I'm quite sure Kay didn't shout at Nora, and I don't think Couchman would. But then no one shouts at Nora. "Nora, you come right back here this minute!" the little bastard shouted and stamped and pointed to a spot on the floor where Nora was supposed to come to roost. I have a nasty temper. Sometimes it lies dormant for ages and at other times, like when the weather is hot and nothing seems to be going right, it's bubbling and ready to explode. "Don't talk to my mother like that, you little --!" I said sharply, breaking off just before I cursed. I wanted him to be large enough for me to strike. "How'd you like for me to talk to your mother like that?"

The nine-year-old looked up at me in surprise and confusion. He hadn't expected me to say anything. I was just another piece of furniture. Tears rose in his eyes and spilled out onto his pale cheeks. He put his hands behind him, twisted them. He moved backwards, away from me. He looked at my mother with a "Nora, come help me" look. And sure enough, there was Nora, speeding back across the room, gathering the kid in her arms, tucking his robe together. I was too angry to feel hatred for myself.

Ronnie was the Couchman's only kid. Nora loved him. I suppose that was the trouble. Couchman was gone ten, twelve hours a day. Kay didn't stay around the house any longer than she had to. So Ronnie had only my mother. I think kids should have someone to love, and Nora wasn't a bad sort. But somehow when the six of us, her own children, were growing up we never had her. She was gone, out scuffling to get those crumbs to put into our mouths and shoes for our feet and praying for something to happen so that all the space in the room would be taken care of. Nora's affection for us took the form of rushing out into the morning's five o'clock blackness to wake some silly bitch and get her coffee, took form in her trudging five miles home every night instead of taking the streetcar to save money to buy tablets for us, to use at school, we said. But the truth was that all of us liked to draw and we went through a writing tablet in a couple of hours every day. Can you imagine? There's not a goddamn artist among us. We never had the physical affection, the pat on the head, the quick, smiling kiss, the "gimmee a hug" routine. All of this Ronnie was getting.

Now he buried his little blond head in Nora's breast and sobbed. "There, there now," Nora said. "Don't you cry, Ronnie. Ol' Wendell is just jealous, and he hasn't much sense either. He didn't mean nuthin'."

I left the room. Nora had hit it of course, hit it and passed on. I looked back. It didn't look so incongruous, the white and black together, I mean. Ronnie was still sobbing. His head bobbed gently on Nora's shoulder. The only time I ever got that close to her was when she trapped me with a bearhug so she could whale the daylights out of me after I put a snowball through Mrs. Grant's window. I walked outside and lit a cigarette. When Ronnie was in the hospital the month before, Nora got me to run her way over to Hollywood every night to see him. I didn't like that worth a damn. All right, I'll admit it: it did upset me. All that affection I didn't get nor my brothers and sisters going to that little white boy who, without a doubt, when away from her called her the names he'd learned from adults. Can you imagine a nine-year-old kid calling Nora a "girl," "our girl?" I spat at the Great Dane. He snarled and then I bounced a rock off his fanny. "Lay down, you bastard," I muttered. It was a good thing he was tied up.

I heard the low cough of the Jaguar slapping against the road. The car was throttled down, and with a muted roar it swung into the driveway. The woman aimed it for me. I was evil enough not to move. I was tired of playing with these people. At the last moment, grinning, she swung the wheel over and braked. She bounded out of the car like a tennis player vaulting over a net.

"Hi," she said, tugging at her shorts.

"Hello,"

"Your're Nora's boy?"

"I'm Nora's son." Hell, I was as old as she was; besides I can't stand "boy."

"Nora tells us you're working in Hollywood. Like it?"

"It's all right."

"You must be pretty talented."

We stood looking at each other while the dog whined for her attention. Kay had a nice body and it was well tanned. She was high, boy, was she high. Looking at her, I could feel myself going into my sexy bastard routine; sometimes I can swing it great. Maybe it all had to do with the business inside. Kay took off her sunglasses and took a good look at me. "Do you have a cigarette?"

I gave her one and lit it. "Nice tan," I said. Most white people I know think it's a great big deal if a Negro compliments them on their tans. It's a large laugh. You have all this volleyball about color and come summer you can't hold the white folks back from the beaches, anyplace where they can get some sun. And of course the blacker they get, the more pleased they are. Crazy. If there is ever a Negro revolt, it will come during the summer and Negroes will descend upon the beaches around the nation and paralyze the country. You can't conceal cattle prods and bombs and pistols and police dogs when you're showing your birthday suit to the sun.

"You like it?" she asked. She was pleased. She placed her arm next to mine. "Almost the same color." she said.

"Ronnie isn't feeling well," I said.

"Oh, the poor kid. I'm so glad we have Nora. She's such a charm. I'll run right in and look at him. Do have a drink in the bar. Fix me one too, will you?" Kay skipped inside and I went to the bar and poured out two strong drinks. I made hers stronger than mine. She was back soon. "Nora was trying to put him to sleep and she made me stay out." She giggled. She quickly tossed off her drink. "Another, please?" While I was fixing her drink she was saying how amazing it was for Nora to have such a talented son. What she was really saying was that it was amazing for a servant to have a son who was not also a servant. "Anything can happen a democracy," I said. "Servants' sons drink with madames and so on."

"Oh, Nora isn't a servant," Kay said. "She's part of the family."

Yeah, I thought. Where and how many times had I heard that before?

In the ensuing silence, she started to admire her tan again. "You think it's pretty good, do you? You don't know how hard I worked to get it." I moved close to her and held her arm. I placed my other arm around her. She pretended not to see or feel it, but she wasn't trying to get away either. In fact she was pressing closer and the register in my brain that tells me at the precise moment when I'm in, went off. Kay was very high. I put both arms around her and she put both hers around me. When I kissed her, she responded completely.

"Mom!"

"Ronnie come back to bed." I heard Nora shout from the other room. We could hear Ronnie running over the rug in the outer room. Kay tried to get away from me, push me to one side, because we could tell that Ronnie knew where to look for his Mom: He was running right for the bar, where we were. "Oh, please," she said, "don't let him see us!" We stopped struggling just for an instant, and we listened to the echoes of the work see. She gritted her teeth and renewed her efforts to get away.

Me? I had the scene laid right out. The kid breaks into the room, see, and sees his mother in this real wriggly clinch with this colored guy who's just shouted at him, see, and no matter how his mother explains it away, the kid has the image--the colored guy and his mother--for the rest of his life, see?

That's the way it happened. The kid's mother hissed under her breath, "You're crazy!" and she looked at me as though she were seeing me or something about me for very first time. I'd released her as as soon as Ronnie, romping into the bar, saw us and came to a full, open-mouthed halt. Kay went to him. He looked first at me, then at his mother. Kay turned to me, but she couldn't speak.

Outside in the living room my mother called, "Wendell, where are you? We can go now."

I started to move past Kay and Ronnie. I felt many things, but I made myself think mostly, There you little bastard, there.

My mother thrust her face inside the door and said, "Good-bye, Mrs. Couchman. See you tomorrow. 'Bye, Ronnie."

"Yes," Kay said, sort of stunned. "Tomorrow." She was reaching for Ronnie's hand as we left, but the kid was slapping her hand away. I hurried quickly after Nora, hating the long drive back to Watts.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS - "SON IN THE AFTERNOON"

1. The speaker is quick to tell us about himself. Make a list of his characteristics; then, tell which of these characteristics Wendell himself finds admirable and which of these you find admirable.

2. Why does Mr. Jorgensen fire Nora?

3. How does Wendell identify with his mother?
   with Mr. Jorgensen?
   with Mr. Couchman?
   with Mrs. Couchman?
   with Ronald?

4. Clearly Nora's treatment of Wendell as a child has led to his present jealousy of Ronnie. Can you cite feelings that you now have which are traceable to experiences in your own childhood?

5. Nora seems to have felt at several times that Wendell "hasn't much sense." Why does she feel that way? Do you think Nora is right?

6. Why does Williams call the story "Son in the Afternoon?"

7. What evidence do you find of Nora's affection for Ronnie and for Wendell?

8. What motivates Wendell's behavior with Kay Couchman?

9. Are Wendell's feelings about himself essentially positive or negative?

10. Why does Wendell hate "the long drive back to Watts?"

11. What evidence do you find in the story that supports Wendell's claim "that the maids and butlers knew everything about these people, and these people knew nothing at all about the help?"

12. Contrast Nora's and Wendell's reactions towards racism.

13. Wendell seems equally bitter towards both Blacks and Whites. Point out examples of his hatred of Uncle Tomism.

14. In what ways do the following elements contribute to Wendell's identity:
    - his home?
    - his occupational experiences?
    - the people with whom he identifies?

SUPPLEMENTARY PROJECT - "SON IN THE AFTERNOON"

Invite four to five students to work through the following simulation (role playing).

Let three or four of the students imagine themselves at an informal gathering (party, lunch, etc.) playing the roles of themselves; that is, acting naturally. One other student enters the group, projecting as much as possible the image of himself in the occupational role he hopes to assume in the future (banker, waiter, teacher, etc.). He is not to announce the occupational role he is playing beforehand either to the class (audience) or to the other students involved in the simulation. Once the student has selected the occupational role he foresees for himself, the teacher may help him find ways in which his "new occupational identity" can evolve naturally in his behavior, choice of words, etc. in his conversation with the other role players. In the course of the conversation that ensues among the players, the students who are playing themselves must react to the student, not as another student, but as the player of the occupational role he is attempting to portray.

The following questions or some similar to these may be asked of all participants.

To the student playing the occupational role:

1. How did you feel about yourself in this role?
2. How did you see yourself in relation to the other student players?
3. What did you draw upon to create your role? People you've observed? Things you've heard? Books?

To the other student players:

1. Were you able to guess the student's role?
2. What clues let you know his role?
3. What other clues might he have used to portray his role more clearly?
4. How did your feelings and attitudes towards the student in his occupational role differ from your feelings towards him as his "everyday self?"

To the class:

1. Were you able to guess which occupational role the student assumed?
2. Do you believe that a person's occupation cannot help but be revealed through casual conversation?
3. To what extent is a person's occupation a part of his identity?
4. Did the student feel essentially negative or positive about the occupational role he was playing?
5. To what degree do we play one role or another?
6. Who is the authentic self? When are you you and not a role player?

THE ALARM CLOCK

Alarm clock
sure sound
loud
this mornin'...
remind me of the time
I sat down
in a drug store
with my
mind away far off...
until the girl
and she was small
it seems to me
with yellow hair
a hangin'
smiled up and said
"I'm sorry but
we don't serve
you people
here"
and I woke up
quick
like I did this mornin'
when the alarm
went off...
It don't do
to wake up
quick...

By Mari Evans
Reprinted from Negro Digest 1/66

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS - "THE ALARM CLOCK"

1. Who is the person speaking in this poem?

2. How does the speaker's speech differ from standard or formal English?

3. The speaker says his mind was "away far off""
   What was the speaker thinking of?
   What was the speaker not thinking of?

4. Who is the girl in this poem?
   How does the speaker think of her?

5. Who is "you people"?

6. What does the girl think of the regulation that "we don't serve you people here"?

7. Why doesn't it do "to wake up quick"?

8. Why does the poet choose "The Alarm Clock" as his title?
   What does the alarm clock symbolize?

9. To what extent does the speaker's concept of himself come from himself?
   From the girl?
   From those who made the rule that "we don't serve you people here"?

MERRY-GO-ROUND

Where is the Jim Crow section
On this merry-go-round,
Mister, cause I want to ride?
Down South where I come from
White and colored
Can't sit side by side.
Down South on the train
There's a Jim Crow car.
On the bus we're put in the back-
But there ain't no back
To a merry-go-round!
Where's the horse
For a kid that's black?

By Langston Hughes

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS - "MERRY-GO-ROUND"

1. What is the meaning of Jim Crow"?
2. Who is the speaker? What do we know about him?
3. Why does the poet use "Merry-go-Round" as the title of his poem? What does merry-go-round symbolize?
4. Is the speaker serious about wanting to know which section of the merry-go-round to use or is he asking a rhetorical question?
5. The speaker compares trains and buses with merry-go-rounds. What is the purpose of this analogy?
6. How does the speaker's awareness of his own blackness determine his behavior? Consider the speaker's question "Where is the Jim Crow section on this merry-go-round?" and his statement "I want to ride."
7. What kind of relationship between the speaker and the merry-go-round attendant is suggested by the use of the word "Mister"?

YET, DO I MARVEL

By Countee Cullen

I doubt not God is good, well meaning, kind
And did He stoop to quibble could tell why
The little buried mole continues blind,
Why flesh that mirrors His must some day die,
Make plain the reason tortured Tantalus
Is baited by the fickle fruit, declare
If merely brute caprice dooms Sisyphs
To struggle up a never ending stair
Inscrutable His ways are, and immune
To catechism by a mind too strewn
With petty cares to slightly understand
What awful brain compels His awful hand.

Yet do I marvel at this curious thing:

To make a poet black, and bid him sing!

THE TYGER

Tyger! Tyger! burning bright
In the forests of the night,
What immortal hand or eye
Could frame thy fearful symmetry?

In what distant deeps or skies
Burnt the fire of thine eyes?
On what wings dare he aspire?
What the hand dare seize the fire?

And what shoulder, and what art,
Could twist the sinews of thy heart?
And when thy heart began to beat,
What dread hand? and what dread feet?

What the hammer? What the chain?
In what furnace was thy brain?
What the anvil? What dread grasp
Dare its deadly terrors clasp?

When the stars threw down their spears,
And water'd heaven with their tears,
Did he smile his work to see?
Did he who made the Lamb make thee?

Tyger! Tyger! burning bright
In the forests of the night,
What immortal hand or eye,
Dare frame they fearful symmetry?

William Blake

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS - THE TYGER" AND "YET, DO I MARVEL"

1. Both of these poems reflect on the mysteries of the creator. In what ways are they similar and in what ways are they different?

2. Is one poem more religious than the other? If so, in what ways?

3. Does one of the poems seem more personal? If so, in what ways?

4. A century or more separates the writing of these two poems. In what ways does Countee Cullen's poem seem more modern?

5. Both poems deal with seeming contradictions in nature. Why is the "curious thing" which ends the Cullen poem such a contradiction? What is Cullen saying in this last line?

6. The universality of human experience is somewhat exemplified in the similar questions or concerns posed by an 18th century White British poet and a 20th century Black American poet. Can you find examples of this universality of mankind's experience in other works (either literature or the fine arts)? What are some contemporary events or movements which seem to deny this universality?

SÁNCHEZ

A Story
By Richard Dokey
As quoted from "The Chicanos"

That summer the son of Juan Sánchez went to work for the Flotill Cannery in Stockton. Juan drove with him to the valley in the old Ford.

While they drove, the boy, whose name was Jesús, told him of the greatness of the cannery, of the great aluminum buildings, the marvelous machines, and the belts of cans that never stopped running. He told him of the building on one side of the road where the cans were made and how the cans ran in a metal tube across the road to the cannery. He described the food machines, the sanitary precautions. He laughed when he spoke of the labeling. His voice was serious about the money.

When they got to Stockton, Jesús directed him to the central district of town, the skid row where the boy was to live while he worked for the Flotill. It was a cheap hotel on Center Street. The room smelled. There was a table with one chair. The floor was stained like the floor of a public urinal and the bed was soiled, as were the walls. There were no drapes on the windows. A pall spread out from the single light bulb overhead that was worked with a length of grimy string.

"I will not stay much in the room," Jesús said, seeing his father's face. "It is only for sleep. I will be working overtime, too. There is also the entertainment."

Jesus led him from the room and they went out into the street. Next to the hotel there was a vacant lot where a building had stood. The hole which was left had that recent, peculiar look of uprootedness. There were the remains of the foundation, the broken flooring, and the racked bricks of tired red to which the gray blotches of mortar clung like dried phlegm. But the ground had not yet taken on the opaqueness of wear that the air and sun give it. It gleamed dully in the light and held to itself where it had been torn, as earth does behind a plow. Juan studied the hole for a time; then they walked up Center Street to Main, passing other empty lots, and then moved east toward Hunter and Main a wrecking crew was at work. A iron ball was suspended from the end of a cable and a tall machine swung the ball up and back and then whipped it forward against the building. The ball was very thick-looking, and when it struck the wall the building trembled, spurted dust, and seemed to cringe inward. The vertical lines of the building had gone awry. Juan shook each time the iron struck the wall.

"They are tearing down the old buildings," Jesús explained. "Redevelopment," he pronounced. "Even my building is to go someday."

Juan looked at his son. "And what of the men?" he asked. "Where do the men go when there are no buildings?"

Jesús, who was a head taller than his father, looked down at him and then shrugged in that Mexican way, the head descending and cocking while the shoulders rise as though on puppet strings. "Quien sabe?"

"And the large building there?" Juan said, looking across the rows of parked cars in Hunter Square. "The one whose roof rubs the sky. Of what significance?"

"That is the new courthouse," Jesus said.

"There are no curtains on the windows."

"They do not put curtains on such windows," Jesuś explained.

"No," sighed Juan, "that is true."

They walked north on Hunter past the new Bank of America and entered an old building. They stood to one side of the entrance. Jesuś smiled proudly and inhaled the stale air.

"This is the entertainment," he said.

Juan looked about. A bar was at his immediate left, and a bald man in a soiled apron stood behind it. Beyond the bar there were many thick-wooded tables covered with green material. Men crouched over them and cone-shaped lights hung low from the ceiling casting broad cones of light downward upon the men and tables. Smoke drifted and rolled in the light and pursued the men when they moved quickly. There was the breaking noise of balls striking together, the hard wooden rattle of the cues in the racks upon the wall, the humming slither of the scoring disks along the loose wires overhead, the explosive cursing of the men. The room was warm and dirty. Juan shook his head.

"I have become proficient at the game," Jesuś said.

"This is the entertainment," Juan said, still moving his head.

Jesuś turned and walked outside. Juan followed. The boy pointed across the parked cars past the courthouse to a marquee on Main Street. "There are also motion pictures," Jesuś said.

Juan had seen a movie as a young man working in the fields near Fresno. He had understood no English then. He sat with his friends in the leather seats that had gum under the arms and watched the images move upon the white canvas. The images were dressed in expensive clothes. There was laughing and dancing. One of the men did kissing with two very beautiful women, taking turns with each when the other was absent. This had embarrassed Juan, the embracing and unhesitating submission of the women with so many unfamiliar people to watch. Juan loved his wife, was very tender and gentle with her before she died. He never went to another motion picture, even after he had learned English, and this kept him from the Spanish films as well.

"We will go to the cannery now," Jesuś said, taking his father's arm. "I will show you the machines."

Juan permitted himself to be led away, and they moved back past the bank to where the men were destroying the building. A ragged hole, like a wound, had been opened in the wall. Juan stopped and watched. The iron ball came forward tearing at the hole, enlarging it, exposing the empty interior space that had once been a room. The floor of the room teetered at a precarious angle. The wood was splintered and very dry in the noon light.

"I do not think I will go to the cannery," Juan said.

The boy looked at his father like a child who has made a toy out of string and bottle caps only to have it ignored.

"But it is honorable work," Jesuś said, suspecting his father. "And it pays well."

"Honor," Juan said. "Honor is a serious matter. It is not a question of honor. You are a man now. All that is needed is a room and a job at the Flotill. Your father is tired, that is all."

"You are disappointed," Jesuś said, hanging his head.

"No," Juan said. "I am beyond disappointment. You are my son. Now you have a place in the world. You have the Flotill."

Nothing more was said, and they walked to the car. Juan got in behind the wheel. Jesuś stood beside the door, his arms at his sides, the fingers spread. Juan looked up at him. The boy's eyes were big.

"You are my son," Juan said, "and I love you. Do not have disappointment. I am not of the Flotill. Seeing the machines would make it worse. You understand, niño?"

"Si, Papa," Jesuś said. He put a hand on his father's shoulder.

"It is a strange world, niñito," Juan said.

"I will earn money. I will buy a red car and visit you. All in Twin Pines will be envious of the son of Sanchez, and they will say that Juan Sańchez has a son of purpose."

"Of course, Jesuś mio," Juan said. He bent and placed his lips against the boy's hand. "I will look for the bright car. I will write regardless." He smiled, showing yellowed teeth. "Goodbye, querido," he said. He started the car, raced the engine once too high, and drove off up the street.

When Juan Sańchez returned to Twin Pines, he drove the old Ford to the top of Bear Mountain and pushed it over. He then proceeded systematically to burn all that was of importance to him, all that was of nostalgic value, and all else that meant nothing in itself, like the extra chest of drawers he had kept after his wife's death, the small table in the bedroom, and the faded mahogany stand in which he kept his pipe and tobacco and which sat next to the stuffed chair in the front room. He broke all the dishes, cups, plates, discarded all the cooking and eating utensils in the same way. The fire rose in the blue wind carrying dust wafers of ash in quick, breathless spirals and then released them in a panoply of diluted smoke, from which they drifted and spun and fell like burnt snow. The forks, knives, and spoons became very black with a flaky crust of oxidized metal. Then Juan burned his clothing, all that was unnecessary, and the smoke dampened and took on a thick smell. Finally he threw his wife's rosary into the flames. It was a cheap one, made of wood, and disappeared immediately. He went into his room then and lay down on the bed. He went to sleep.

When he woke, it was dark and cool. He stepped outside, urinated, and then returned, shutting the door. The darkness was like a mammoth held breath, and he felt very awake listening to the beating of his heart. He would not be able to sleep now, and so he lay awake thinking.

He thought of his village in Mexico, the baked white clay of the small houses spread like little forts against the stillness of the bare mountains, the men with their great wide hats, their wide, white pants, and their naked, brown-skinned feet, splayed against the fine dust of the road. He saw the village cistern and the women all so big and slow, always with child, enervated by the earth and the unbearable sun, the enervation passing into their very wombs like the acceptance, slow, silent blood. The men walked bent as though carrying the air or sky, slept against the buildings in the shade like old dogs, ate dry, hot food that dried them inside and seemed to bake the moisture from the flesh, so that the men and women while still young had faces like eroded fields and fingers like stringy empty stream beds. It was a hard land. It took the life of his father and mother before he was twelve and the life of his aunt, with whom he then lived, before he was sixteen.

When he was seventeen he went to Mexicali because he had heard much of America and the money to be obtained there. They took him in a truck with other men to work in the fields around Bakersfield, then in the fields near Fresno. On his return to Mexicali he met La Belleza, as he came to call her: loveliness. He married her when he was nineteen and she only fifteen. The following year she had a baby girl. It was stillborn and the birth almost killed her, for the doctor said the passage was oversmall. The doctor cautioned him (warned him, really) La Belleza could not have children and live, and he went outside into the moonlight and wept.

He had heard much of the liveliness of the Sierra Nevada above what was called the Mother Lode, and because he feared the land, believed almost that it possessed the power to kill him--as it had killed his mother and father, his aunt, was, in fact, slowly killing so many of his people--he wanted to run away from it to the high white cold of the California mountains, where he believed his heart would grow, his blood run and, perhaps, the passage of La Belleza might open. Two years later he was taken in the trucks to Stockton in the San Joaquin Valley to pick tomatoes, and he saw the Sierra Nevada above the Mother Lode.

It was from a distance, of course, and in the summer, so that there was no snow. But when he returned he told La Belleza about the blueness of the mountains in the warm, still dawn, the extension of them, the aristocracy of their unmoving height, and that they were only fifty miles away from where he had stood.

He worked very hard now and saved his money. He took La Belleza back to his village, where he owned the white clay house of his father. It was cheaper to live there while he waited, fearing the sun, the dust, and the dry, airless silence, for the money to accumulate. That fall La Belleza became pregnant again by an accident of passion and the pregnancy was very difficult. In the fifth month the doctor--who was an atheist--said that the baby would have to be taken or else the mother would die. The village priest, a very loud, dramatic man--an educated man who took pleasure in striking a pose--proclaimed the wrath of God in the face of such sacrilege. It was the child who must live, the priest cried. The pregnancy must go on. There was the immortal soul of the child to consider. But Juan decided for the atheist doctor, who did take the child. La Belleza lost much blood. At one point her heart had stopped beating. When the child was torn from its mother and Juan saw that it was a boy, he ran out of the clay house of his father and up the dusty road straight into a hideous red moon. He cursed the earth, the sky. He cursed his village, himself, the soulless indifference of the burnt mountains. He cursed God.

Juan was very afraid now, and though it cost more money, he had himself tied by the atheist doctor so that he could never again put the life of La Belleza in danger, for the next time, he knew with certainty, would kill her.

The following summer he went again on the trucks to the San Joaquin Valley. The mountains were still there, high and blue in the quiet dawn, turned to a milky pastel by the heat swirls and haze of midday. Sometimes at night he stepped outside the shacks in which the men were housed and faced the darkness. It was tragic to be so close to what you wanted, he would think, and be unable to possess it. So strong was the feeling in him, particularly during the hot, windless evenings, that he sometimes went with the other men into Stockton, where he stood on the street corners of skid row and talked, though he did not get drunk on cheap wine or go to the whores, as did the other men. Nor did he fight.

They rode in old tilted trucks covered with canvas and sat on rude benches staring out over the slats of the tail gate. The white glare of headlights crawled up and lay upon them, waiting to pass. They stared over the whiteness. When the lights swept out and by, the glass of the side windows shone. Behind the windows sometimes there would be the ghost flash of an upturned face, before the darkness clamped shut. Also, if one of the men had a relative who lived in the area, there was the opportunity to ride in a car.

He had done so once. He had watched the headlights of the car pale, then whiten the back of one of the trucks. He saw the faces of the men turned outward and the looks on the faces that seemed to float upon the whiteness of the light. The men sat forward, arms on knees, and looked over the glare into the darkness. After that he always rode in the trucks.

When he returned to his village after that season's harvest, he knew they could wait no longer. He purchased a dress of silk for La Belleza and in a secondhand store bought an American suit for himself. He had worked hard, sold his father's house, saved all his money, and on a bright day in early September they crossed the border at Mexicali and caught the Greyhound for Fresno.

Juan got up from his bed to go outside. He stood looking up at the stars. The stars were pinned to the darkness, uttering little flickering cries of light, and as always he was moved by the nearness and profusion of their agony. His mother had told him the stars were a kind of purgatory in which souls burned in cold, silent repentance. He had wondered after her death if the earth too were not a star burning in loneliness, and he could never look at them later without thinking this and believing that the earth must be the brightest of all stars. He walked over to the remains of the fire. A dull heat came from the ashes and a column of limp smoke rose and then bent against the night wind. He studied the ashes for a time and then looked over the tall pine shapes to the southern sky. It was there all right. He could feel the dry char of its heat, that deeper, dryer burning. He imagined it, of course. But it was there nevertheless. He went back into the cabin and lay down, but now his thoughts were only of La Belleza and the beautiful Sierra Nevada.

From Fresno all the way up the long valley to Stockton they had been full with pride and expectation. They had purchased oranges and chocolate bars and they ate them laughing. The other people on the bus looked at them, shook their heads, and slept or read magazines. He and La Belleza gazed out the window at the land.

In Stockton they were helped by a man named Eugenio Mendez. Juan had met him while picking tomatoes in the delta. Eugenio had eight children and a very fat but very kind and tolerant wife named Anilla. He had helped them find a cheap room off Center Street, where they stayed while determining their next course of action.

Eugenio had access to a car, and it was he who drove them finally to the mountains.

It was a day like no other day in his life: to be sitting in the car with La Belleza, to be in this moving car with his Belleza heading straight toward the high, lovely mountains. The car traveled from the flatness of the valley into the rolling brown swells of the foothills, where hundreds of deciduous and evergreen oaks grew, their puffballs shapes like still pictures of exploding holiday rockets, only green, but spreading up and out and then around and down in nearly perfect canopies. At Jackson the road turned and began an immediate, constant climb upward.

It was as though his dream about it had materialized. He had never seen so many trees, great with dignity: pines that had gray bark twisted and stringy like hemp; others whose bark resembled dry, flat ginger cookies fastened with black glue about a drum, and others whose bark pulled easily away; and those called redwoods, standing stiff and tall, amber-hued with straight rolls of bark as thick as his fist, flinging out high above great arms of green. And the earth, rich red, as though the blood of scores of Indians had just flowed there and dried. Dark patches of shadow stunned with light, blue flowers, orange flowers, birds, even deer. They saw them all on that first day.

"¿A donde vamos?" Eugenio had asked. "Where are we going?"

"Bellisima," Juan replied. "Into much loveliness."

They did not reach Twin Pines that day. But on their return a week later they inquired in Jackson about the opportunity of buying land or a house in the mountains. The man, though surprised, told them of the sawmill town of Twin Pines, where there were houses for sale.

Their continued luck on that day precipitated the feeling in Juan that it was indeed the materialization of a dream. He had been able in all those years to save two thousand dollars, and a man had a small shack for sale at the far edge of town. He looked carefully at Juan, at La Belleza and Eugenio and said, "One thousand dollars," believing they could never begin to possess such a sum. When Juan handed him the money, the man was so struck that he made out a bill of sale. Juan Sańchez and his wife had their home in the Sierra.

When Juan saw the cabin close up, he knew the man had stolen their money. It was small, the roof slanted to one side, the door would not close evenly. The cabin was gradually falling downhill. But it was theirs and he could, with work, repair it. Hurriedly they drove back to Jackson, rented a truck, bought some cheap furniture and hauled it back to the cabin. When they had moved in, Juan brought forth a bottle of whiskey and for the first time in his life proceeded to get truly drunk.

Juan was very happy with La Belleza. She accepted his philosophy completely, understood his need, made it her own. In spite of the people of the town, they created a peculiar kind of joy. And anyway Juan had knowledge about the people.

Twin Pines had been founded, he learned, by one Benjamin Carter, who lived with his daughter in a magnificent house on the hill overlooking town. This Benjamin Carter was a very wealthy man. He had come to the mountains thirty years before to save his marriage, for he had been poor once and loved when he was poor, but then he grew very rich because of oil discovered on his father's Ohio farm and he went away to the city and became incapable of love in the pursuit of money and power. When he at last married the woman whom he had loved, a barrier had grown between them, for Ben Carter had changed but the woman had not. Then the woman became ill and Ben Carter promised her he would take her West, all the way West away from the city so that it could be as it had been in the beginning of their love. But the woman was with child. And so Ben Carter rushed to the California mountains, bought a thousand acres of land, and hurried to build his house before the rain and snows came. He hired many men and the house was completed, except for the interior work and the furnishings. All that winter men he had hired worked in the snow to finish the house while Ben Carter waited with his wife in the city. When it was early spring they set out for California, Ben Carter, his wife, and the doctor, who strongly advised against the rough train trip and the still rougher climb by horse and wagon from Jackson to the house. But the woman wanted the child born properly, so they went. The baby came the evening of their arrival at the house, and the woman died all night having it. It was this Ben Carter who lived with that daughter now in the great house on the hill, possessing her to the point, it was said about his madness, that he had murdered a young man who had shown interest in her.

Juan learned all this from a Mexican servant who had worked at the great house from the beginning, and when he told the story of La Belleza she wept because of its sadness. It was a tragedy of love, she explained, and Juan--soaring to the heights of his imagination--believed that the town, all one hundred souls, had somehow been infected with the tragedy, as they were touched by the shadow of the house itself, which crept directly up the highway each night when the sun set. This was why they left dead chickens and fish on the porch of the cabin or dumped garbage into the yard. He believed he understood something profound and so did nothing about these incidents, which, after all, might have been the pranks of boys. He did not want the infection to touch him, nor the deeper infection of their prejudice because he was Mexican. He was not indifferent. He was simply too much in love with La Belleza and the Sierra Nevada. Finally the incidents stopped.

Now the life of Juan Sańchez entered its most beautiful time. When the first snows fell he became delirious, running through the pines, shouting, rolling on the ground, catching the flakes in his open mouth, bringing them in his cupped hands to rub in the hair of La Belleza, who stood in the doorway of their cabin laughing at him. He danced, made up a song about snowflakes falling on a desert and then a prayer which he addressed to the Virgin of Snowflakes. That night while the snow fluttered like wings against the bedroom window, he celebrated the coming of the whiteness with La Belleza.

He understood that first year in the mountains that love was an enlargement of himself, that it enabled him to be somehow more than he had ever been before, as though certain pores of his senses had only just been opened. Whereas before he had desired the Sierra Nevada for its beauty and contrast to his harsh fatherland, now he came to acquire a love for it, and he loved it as he loved La Belleza; he loved it as a woman. Also in that year he came to realize that there was a fear or dread about such love. It was more a feeling than anything else, something which reached thought now and then, particularly in those last moments before sleep. It was an absolutely minor thing. The primary knowledge was of the manner in which this love seemed to assimilate everything, rejecting all that would not yield. This love was a kind of blindness.

That summer Juan left La Belleza at times to pick the crops of the San Joaquin Valley. He had become good friends with the servant of the big house and this man had access to the owner's car, which he always drove down the mountain in a reckless but confident manner. After that summer Juan planned also to buy a car, not out of material desire, but simply because he believed this man would one day kill himself, and also because he did not wish to be dependent.

He worked in the walnuts near the town of Linden and again in the tomatoes of the rich delta. He wanted very much to have La Belleza with him, but that would have meant more money and a hotel room in the skid row, and that was impossible because of the pimps and whores, the drunks and criminals and the general despair, which the police always tapped at periodic intervals, as one does a vat of fermenting wine. The skid row was a place his love could not assimilate, but he could not ignore it because so many of his people were lost there. He stayed in the labor camps, which were also bad because of what the men did with themselves, but they were tolerable. He worked hard and as often as he could and gazed at the mountains, which he could always see clearly in the morning light. When tomato season was over he returned to La Belleza.

Though the town would never accept them as equals, it came that summer to tolerate their presence. La Belleza made straw baskets which she sold to the townspeople and which were desired for their beauty and intricacy of design. Juan carved animals, a skill he had acquired from his father, and these were also sold. The activity succeeded so well that Juan took a box of these things to Jackson, where they were readily purchased. The following spring he was able to buy the Ford.

Juan acquired another understanding that second year in the mountains. It was, he believed, that love, his love, was the single greatness of which he was capable, the thing which ennobled him and gave him honor. Love, he became convinced, was his only ability, the one success he had accomplished in a world of insignificance. It was a simple thing, after all, made so painfully simple each time he went to the valley to work with his face toward the ground, every time he saw the men in the fields and listened to their talk and watched them drive off to the skid row at night. After he had acquired this knowledge, the nights he had to spend away from La Belleza were occupied by a new kind of loneliness, as though a part of his body had been separated from the whole. He began also to understand something more of the fear or dread that seemed to trail behind love.

It happened late in the sixth year of their marriage. It was impossible, of course, and he spent many hours at the fire in their cabin telling La Belleza of the impossibility, for the doctor had assured him that all had been well tied. He had conducted himself on the basis of that assumption. But doctors can be wrong. Doctors can make mistakes. La Belleza was with child.

For the first five months the pregnancy was not difficult, and he came almost to believe that indeed the passage of La Belleza would open. He prayed to God. He prayed to the earth and sky. He prayed to the soul of his mother. But after the fifth month the true sickness began and he discarded prayer completely in favor of blasphemy. There was no God and never could be God in the face of such sickness, such unbelievable human sickness. Even when he had her removed to the hospital in Stockton, the doctors could not stop it, but it continued so terribly that he believed that La Belleza carried sickness itself in her womb.

After seven months the doctors decided to take the child. They brought La Belleza into a room with lights and instruments. They worked on her for a long time and she died there under the lights with the doctors cursing and perspiring above the large wound of her pain. They did not tell him of the child, which they had cleaned and placed in an incubator, until the next day. That night he sat in the Ford and tried to see it all, but he could only remember the eyes of La Belleza in the vortex of pain. They were of an almost eerie calmness. They possessed calmness, as one possesses the truth. Toward morning he slumped sideways on the seat and went to sleep.

So he put her body away in the red earth of the town cemetery beyond the cabin. The pines came together overhead and in the heat of midday a shadow sprinkled with spires of light lay upon the ground so that the earth was cool and clean to smell. He did not even think of taking her back to Mexico, since, from the very beginning she had always been part of that dream he had dreamed. Now she would be always in the Sierra Nevada, with the orange and blue flowers, the quiet, deep whiteness of winter, and all that he ever was or could be was with her.

But he did not think these last thoughts then, as he did now. He had simply performed them out of instinct for that necessity, as he had performed the years of labor while waiting for the infant Jesús to grow to manhood. Jesús. Why had he named the boy Jesús? That, perhaps, had been instinct too. He had stayed after La Belleza's death for the boy, to be with him until manhood, to show him the loveliness of the Sierra Nevada, to instruct him toward true manhood. But Jesús. Ah, Jesús. Jesús the American. Jesús of the [illegible]. Jesús understood nothing. Jesús, he believed, was forever lost to knowledge. That day with Jesús had been his own liberation.

For a truth had come upon him after the years of waiting, the ultimate truth that he understood only because La Belleza had passed through his life. Love was beauty, La Belleza and the Sierra Nevada, a kind of created or made thing. But there was another kind of love, a very profound, embracing love that he had felt of late blowing across the mountains from the south and that, he knew now, had always been there from the beginning of his life, disguised in the sun and wind. In this love there was blood and earth and, yes, even God, some kind of god, at least the power of a god. This love wanted him for its own. He understood it, that it had permitted him to have La Belleza and that without it there could have been no Belleza.

Juan placed an arm over his eyes and turned to face the wall. The old bed sighed. An image went off in his head and he remembered vividly the lovely body of La Belleza. In that instant the sound that loving had produced with the bed was alive in him like a forgotten melody, and his body seemed to swell and press against the ceiling. It was particularly cruel because it was so sudden, so intense, and came from so deep within him that he knew it must all still be alive somewhere, and that was the cruelest part of all. He wept softly and held the arm across his eyes.

In the dark morning the people of the town were awakened by the blaze of fire that was the house of Juan Sánchez. Believing that he had perished in the flames, several of the townspeople placed a marker next to the grave of his wife with his name on it. But, of course, on that score they were mistaken. Juan Sánchez had simply gone home.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS - "SÁNCHEZ"

1. Why does Juan Sánchez seem disappointed with Jesús?

2. What does Juan value?

3. Could Jesús hold these same values? Why? Why not?

4. What are Jesús' values? How much does he depend on the world around him in forming his values?

5. On what does Juan depend to form his values?

6. What ultimate values in Juan's life does the closing paragraph suggest?

I AM JOAQUIN

I am Joaquin,
Lost in a world of confusion,
Caught up in a whirl of a gringo society,
Confused by the rules,
Scorned by attitudes,
Suppressed by manipulations,
And destroyed by modern society.
My fathers
have lost the economic battle
and won
the struggle of cultural survival.
And now!
I must choose
between
the paradox of
Victory of the spirit,
despite physical hunger
Or
to exist in the grasp
of American social neurosis,
sterilization of the soul
and a full stomach.

Yes,
I have come a long way to nowhere,
Unwillingly dragged by that
monstrous, technical
industrial giant called
Progress
and Anglo success...
I look at myself.
I watch my brothers.
I shed tears of sorrow.
I sow seeds of hate.
I withdraw to the safety within the
Circle of life....
MY OWN PEOPLE

I am Cuauhtemoc,
Proud and Noble
Leader of men,
King of an empire,
civilized beyond the dreams
of the Gachupin Cortez
Who also is the blood
the image of myself
I am the Maya Prince
I am Hezahualcoyotl,
Great leader of the Chichimecas.
I am the sword and flame of Cortez
the despot.
And
I am the Eagle and Serpent of
the Aztec civilization.

I owned the land as far as the eye
could see under the crown of Spain,
and I toiled on my earth
and gave my Indian sweat and blood
for the Spanish master,
Who ruled with tyranny over man and
beast and all that he could trample
But......
THE GROUND WAS MINE.......
I was both tyrant and slave.

As Christian church took its place
in God's good name,
to take and use my Virgin strength and
Trusting faith.
The priests
both good and bad,
took
But
gave a lasting truth that
Spaniard,
Indian,
Mestizo
Were all God's children
And
from these words grew men
who prayed and fought
for
their own worth as human beings
for
that
GOLDEN MOMENT
of
FREEDOM.

I was part in blood and spirit
of that
courageous village priest
Hidalgo
in the year eighteen hundred and ten

who rang the bell of independence

and gave out that lasting cry:
   "El Grito de Dolores, Que muran
   los Gauchupines y que viva
la Virgen de Guadalupe'.....
I sentenced him
      who was me.
I excommunicated him my blood.
I drove him from the pulpit to lead
   a bloody revolution for him and me..
            I killed him.
His head,
   Which is mine and all of those
   who have come this way,
I placed on that fortress wall
   to wait for Independence.
Morelo!
            Matamoros!
               Guerrero!
All Companeros in the act,
STOOD AGAINST THAT WALL OF
               INFAMY
   to feel the hot gouge of lead
      which my hands made.
I died with them...
   I lived with them
      I lived to see our country free.
Free
   from Spanish rule in
      eighteen-hundred-twenty-one.
            Mexico was Free???

The crown was gone
            but
all his parasites remained
            and ruled
            and taught
   with gun and flame and mystic power.
I worked
I sweated,
I bled,
I prayed
   and
waited silently for life to again
                  commence.

I fought and died
            for
   Don Benito Juarez
Guardian of the Constitution.
I was him
            on dusty roads
               on barren land
as he protected his archives
   as Moses did his sacramente
He held his Mexico
               in his hand
                  on
               the most desolate
         and remote ground
         which was his country,
And this Giant
         Little Zapotec
                     gave
         not one palm's breadth
      of his country's land to
         Kings or Monarchs or Presidents
of foreign powers.

I am Joaquin.
I rode with Pancho Villa,
   crude and warm.
A tornado at full strength,
nourished and inspired
   by the passion and the fire
   of all his earthy people.
I am Emiliano Zapata.
            "This land
               This Earth
                  is
                     OURS"

The villages
   The Mountains
      The Streams
         belong to Zapatistas.
            Our life
               or yours
is the only trade for soft brown earth
and maize.
All of which is our reward,
   A creed that formed a constitution
      for all who dare live free!
"This land is ours....
   Father, I gave it back to you.
         Mexico must be free....."

I ride with Revolutionists
         against myself.
I am rural
      Course and brutal,
I am the mountain Indian,
      superior over all.
The thundering hoof beats are my horses.
The chattering of machine guns
   are death to all of me:
      Yaqui
         Tarahumara
            Chamula
               Zapotec
                  Mestizo
                     Espanol

I have been the bloody Revolution,
The Victor,
The Vanquished,
I have killed.
I am despots Diaz
and Huerta
and the apostle of democracy
Francisco Madero.
I am
the black shawled
faithful women
who die with me
or live
depending on the time and place.
I am
faithful,
humble,
Juan Diego
The Virgen de Guadalupe,
Tonatzin, Aztec Goddess too.

I rode the mountains of San Joaquin,
I rode as far East and North
as the Rocky Mountains
and
all men feared the guns of Joaquin Murrietta.
I killed those men who dared
to steal my mine,
who raped and killed
my Love
my Wife

Then I

I killed to stay alive.
I was Alfego Baca.
living my nine lives fully.
I was the Espinoza brothers
of the Valle de San Luis.
All,
were added to the number of heads
that
in the name of civilization
were placed on the wall of independence
Heads of brave men
who died for cause or principle.
Good or bad.
Hidalgo! Zapata!
Murrietta! Espinozas!
are but a few.
They
dared to face
The force of tyranny
of men
who rule
by force

I stand here looking back,
and now I see
the present
and still
I am the campesino
I am the fat political coyote
I,
of the same name,
Joaquin.
In a country that has wiped out
all my history,
stifled all my pride.
In a country that has placed a
different weight of indignity upon
my
age
old
burdened back.
Inferiority
is the new load...
The Indian has endured and still
emerged the winner,
The Mestizo must yet overcome,
And the Gauchupin will just ignore.
I look at myself
and see part of me
who rejects my father and my mother
and dissolves into the melting pot
to disappear in shame.
I sometimes
sell my brother out
and reclaim him
for my own when society gives me
token leadership
in society's own name.

I am Joaquin,
who bleeds in many ways.
The alters of Montezuma
I stained a bloody red.
My back of Indian slavery
was stripped with crimson
from the whips of masters
who would lose their blood so pure
when Revolution made them pay
Standing against the walls of
Retribution,
Blood...
Has flowed from
me
on every battlefield
between
Campesino, Hacendado
Slave and Master
and
Revolution

I jumped the tower of Chapultepoc
into the sea of fame
my country's flag
my burial shroud;
With Los Ninos,
whose pride and courage
should not surrender
with indignity
their country's flag
To strangers....in their land.
Now
I bleed in some smelly cell
from club.
or gun.
or tyranny.
I bleed as the vicious gloves of hunger
cut my face and eyes,
as I fight my way from stinking Barrios
to the glamor of the Ring
and lights of fame
or mutilated sorrow.
My blood runs pure on the ice caked
hills of the Alaskan Isles,
on the corpse strewn beach of Normandy,
the foreign land of Korea
and now
Viet Nam.
Here I stand
before the Court of Justice
Guilty
for all the glory of my Raza
to be sentenced to despair.
Here I stand
Poor in money
Arrogant with pride
Bold with Machismo
Rich in courage
and
Wealthy in spirit and faith.
My knees are caked with mud.
My hands calloused from the hoe.
I have made the Anglo rich
yet
Equality is but a word.
the Treaty of Hidalgo has been
broken
and is but another treacherous promise.
My land is lost
and stolen,
My culture has been raped,
I lengthen
the line at the welfare door
and filled the jails with crime.
These then
are the rewards
this society has
For sons of Chiefs
and Kings
and bloody Revolutionists.
Who gave a foreign people
all their skills and ingenuity
to pave the way with Brains and Blood
for
those hordes of Gold starved
Strangers
Who
changed our language
and plagiarized our deeds
as feats of valor
of their own.
They frowned upon our way of life
and took what they could use.
Our Art
Our Literature
Our Music, they ignored
so they left the real things of value
and grabbed at their own destruction
by their Greed and Avarice
They overlooked that cleansing fountain
of nature and brotherhood
Which is Joaquin,
The art of great senores
Diego Rivera
Sisqueiros
Orozco is but
another act of revolution for
the Salvation of Mankind,
Mariachi music, the
heart and soul
of the peopleof the earth,
the life of child,
and the happiness of love.
The Corridos tell the tales
of life and death,
of tradition,
Legends of old and new,
of joy
of Passion and sorrow
of the people; who I am.

I am in the eyes of woman,
sheltered beneath
her shawl of black,
deep and sorrowful
eyes,
That bear the pain of sons long buried
or dying,
Dead
on the battlefield or on the barbwire
of social strife

Her rosary she prays and fingers
endlessly
like the family
working down a row of beets
to turn around
and work
and work
There is no end.
Her eyes a mirror of all the warmth
and all the love for me,
And I am her
And she is me.
We face life together in sorrows,
anger, joy, faith and wishful
thoughts.

I shed tears of anguish
as I see my children disappear
behind the shroud of mediocrity
never to look back to remember me.
I am Joaquin.
I must fight
And win this struggle
for my sons, and they
must know from me
Who I am.
Part of the blood that runs deep in me
Could not be vanquished by the Moors.
I defeated them after five hundred years,
and I endured.
The part of blood that is mine
has labored endlessly five-hundred
years under the heel of lustful
Europeans
I am still here!
I have survived the toils and slavery
of the fields.
I have endured in the rugged mountains
of our country.
I have existed
in the barrios of the city,
in the suburbs of bigotry,
in the mines of social snobbery,
in the prisons of dejection,
in the muck of exploitation
and
in the fierce heat of racial hatred.
And now the trumpet sounds,
The music of the people stirs the
Revolution,
Like a sleeping giant it slowly
rears its head
to the sound of
Tramping feet
Clamouring voices
Mariachi strains
for a better life.
And in all the fertile farm lands,
the barren plains,
the mountain villages,
smoked smeared cities
We start to MOVE.
La Raza!
Mejicano!
Espanol!
Latino!
Hispano!
Chicano!
or whatever I call myself,
I look the same
I feel the same
I cry the same
and
Sing the same

I am the masses of my people and
I refuse to be absorbed.
I am Joaquin
The odds are great
but my spirit is strong
My faith unbreakable
My blood is pure
I am Aztec Prince and Christian Christ
I SHALL ENDURE!
I WILL ENDURE!

By Rodolfo (Corky) Gonzales

About the Writer - Rodolfo (Corky) Gonzales:
quoted from A Mexican American Chronicle, by Rudy Acuna

The author of "I am Joaquin," Rodolfo (Corky) Gonzales, is a forty-year-old father of eight children, who was a featherweight contender from 1947 to 1955. Since then he has played an important role in Denver, Colorado Democratic politics. Recently, he struck out independently to form the more militant organization, Crusade for Justice.

He has emerged as one of the most articulate spokesmen of Brown Power. Corky seems to preach a pure brand of cultural nationalism, believing that Mexicanos in the United States must preserve their identity by banding together, marrying their own, beginning their own industries, and conserving their traditions. His actions are aimed to confront the establishment and force it to recognize the sovereignty of the Mexicano in the United States.

Corky, himself, has lost faith in the political system. To further Chicano nationalism he called the conference for Chicano youth where the Plan of Aztlan was proclaimed.

The reader, if he does not examine Gonzales' movement closely, might arrive at the conclusion that his rhetoric is an imitation of the Black's protest. However, Gonzales' movement is uniquely Mexican. In his Crusade for Justice, he has a strong family orientation. In the organization, he encourages total family participation. His entire family works in the movement along with the entire families of his followers. At the headquarters you can see the abuelitos (grandparents), mothers, and fathers working side by side. It is probably only a matter of time before this technique will be emulated by other organizations.

Many observers believe that Corky Gonzales' influence will grow along with the growing awareness of self in the Mexican American community. Young people, especially, feel that it is necessary to get total community participation in overcoming the obstacles confronting the Mexicano. Time will tell.

The following terms should be identified before discussing the poem:

General Terms

gringo
Aztec
Mestizo
"El Grito de ...
  Virgen de Guadalupe ..."
Companeros
Zapatistas
Yaqui
Tarahumara
Chamula
Zapotec
Mestizo
Espanol
Campesino
Hacendado
Barrios
Ring
Anglo
Treaty of Hidalgo
Mariachi
Corridos
La Raza
Mejicano
Espanol
Latino
Hispano
Chicano

People

Cuauhtimoc
Gachupin Cortez
Hezahualcoyotl
Chichimecas
Hidalgo
Morelo
Matamoros
Guerrero
Don Benito Juarez
Zapotec
Pancho Villa
Emiliano Zapata
Diaz
Huerta
Francisco Medero
Juan Diego
Joaquin Murrietta
Alfego Baca
Espinoza brothers
Montezuma
Los Ninos
Diego Rivera
Siqueiros
Orozco

Places

San Joaquin
Valle de San Luis
Chapultepoc
Alaskan Isles
Normandy
Korea
Viet Nam

SUPPLEMENTARY PROJECT - "I AM JOAQUIN"

After explaining the history behind the poem, the teacher may ask the students to write their own "I am .....". The assignment will take a week or so to complete because the student should try to get as much of his ethnic heritage into the poem as possible. He will have to talk to parents, grandparents, other family members, as well as reading some of the background history of the areas in which his family lived. The history he includes might reach back several centuries or it might include the experiences of his family (both sides) just in this country.

ALTERNATE ASSIGNMENT:

The student may illustrate his poem with pictures cut from magazines, with slides, photographs, drawings, etc. The movie, I Am Joaquin, and the illustrations should supplement the poem. The pictures and the student's reading of his poem can then be presented to the class as a whole.

MY FACE

Merely as an observer of natural phenomena, I am fascinated by my own personal appearance. This does not mean that I am pleased with it, mind you, or that I can even tolerate it. I simply have a morbid interest in it.

Each day I look like someone, or something, different. I never know what it is going to be until I steal a look in the glass. (Oh, I don't suppose you really could call it stealing. It belongs to me, after all.)

One day I look like Wimpy, the hamburger fancier in the Popeye the Sailor saga. Another day it may be Wallace Beery. And a third day, if I have let my mustache get out of hand, it is Bairnsfather's Old Bill. And not until I peek do I know what the show is going to be.

Some mornings, if I look in the mirror soon enough after getting out of bed, there is no resemblance to any character at all, either in or out of fiction, and I turn quickly to look behind me, convinced that a stranger has spent the night with me and is peering over my shoulder in a sinister fashion, merely to frighten me. On such occasions, the shock of finding that I am actually possessor of the face in the mirror is sufficient to send me scurrying back to bed, completely unnerved.

All this is, of course, very depressing, and I often give off a low moan at the sight of the new day's metamorphosis, but I can't seem to resist the temptation to learn the worst. I even go out of my way to look at myself in store-window mirrors, just to see how long it will take me to recognize myself. If I happen to have on a new hat, or am walking with a limp, I sometimes pass right by my reflection without even nodding. Then I begin to think: "You must have given off some visual impression into that mirror. You're not a disembodied spirit yet - I hope."

And I go back and look again, and, sure enough, the strange-looking man I thought was walking just ahead of me in the reflection turns out to have been my own image all the time. It makes a fellow stop and think, I can tell you.

This almost masochistic craving to offend my own aesthetic sense by looking at myself and wincing also comes out when snapshots or class photographs are being passed around. The minute someone brings the envelope containing the week's grist of vacation prints from the drugstore developing plant, I can hardly wait to get my hands on them. I try to dissemble my eagerness to examine those in which I myself figure, but there is a greedy look in my eye which must give me away.

The snapshots in which I do not appear are so much dross in my eyes, but I pretend that I am equally interested in them all.

"This is very good of Joe," I say, with a hollow ring to my voice, sneaking a look at the next print to see if I am in it.

Ah! Here, at last, is one in which I show up nicely. By "nicely" I mean "clearly." Try as I will to pass it by casually, my eyes rivet themselves on that corner of this group in which I am standing. And then, when the others have left the room, I surreptitiously go through the envelope again, just to gaze my fill on the slightly macabre sight of myself as others see me.

In some pictures I look even worse than I had imagined. On what I call my "good days," I string along pretty close to form. But day in and day out, in mirror or photograph, there is always that slight shock of surprise which, although unpleasant, lends a tang to the adventure of peeking. I never can quite make it seem possible that it is really Poor Little Me, the Little Me I know so well and yet who frightens me so when face to face.

My only hope is that, in this constant metamorphosis which seems to be going on, a winning number may come up sometime, if only for a day. Just what the final outcome will be, it is hard to predict. I may settle down to a constant, plodding replica of Man-Mountain Dean in my old age, or change my style completely and end up as a series of Bulgarian peasant types. I may just grow old along with Wimpy.

But whatever is in store for me, I shall watch the daily modulations with an impersonal fascination not unmixed with awe at Mother Nature's gift for caricature, and will take the bitter with the sweet and keep a stiff upper lip.

As a matter of fact, my upper lip is pretty fascinating by itself, in a bizarre sort of way.

By Robert Benchley

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS - "MY FACE"

1. How do you react to photographs of yourself?
2. What do you do when you see your reflection in a mirror?
3. Benchley uses the word "fascinated" to evoke the feeling he has when confronted with his own appearance. Which adjectives correspond best to your own feelings when you come face to face with your own reflection?
4. Benchley compares himself with Wimpy, Wallace Beery, and Bairnsfather's Old Bill. Are there people or fictional characters whom your face reminds you of?

SUPPLEMENTARY PROJECTS

Using a medium of your choice (oil, watercolor, sketch, collage, sculpture, etc.) design an image of yourself. This may be a realistic portrait or a representational or abstract image.

Be prepared to explain either orally or in writing at least three traits or characteristics you were trying to communicate in your design.

After exhibiting all the "art work" with the students' consent, discuss the characteristics of each design.

Determine how many of the created images you are able to "match" to the actual person being portrayed.

A TRIBUTE TO OUR ANCESTORS

Census tract A-13:
10% of families with an
annual income of less than $2000...

24% with an annual income
of under $4000...

Male employment status:

Some 35% of employed men in
Chinatown work in restaurants...

This amounts to about 15,000
workers as cooks, kitchen
help and waiters.

...such jobs do not require
much knowledge of English and
wages are considerably lower
than similar white establishments...

..."Chink, Chink, Chinaman,
sitting on a rail, along comes
a white man and cuts off his tail"...

Now is the time...
Seize the moment.

My family heritage
can be traced as far back
as the great Ming Dynasty.

I may justly say, in fact, that I
was once (am/hope once again to be)
a man of great esteem.

I practiced medicine (rare herbs and
chemicals). My people came to me when
plagued...and I coaxed away the evils of
their wounds.

And now I clean tables and wash dirty
dishes in a cafe.

Most of my friends find work as
restaurant help. Many come to me,
seeking some comfort from their
sufferings...but even I cannot
heal the wounds of the soul...

And I cannot speak much English...(yes sir,
no sir). Therefore, it is hopeless for
me to look for another job.

And you continue to ridicule and stone
me wherever I go...I am old too, and
the battle that rages within me...of
some long-awaited struggle...is bound
tight by the gnarled flesh of these bones
And I can only wait now...

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS - "A TRIBUTE TO OUR ANCESTORS"

1. What is the apparent contrast in the poem?

   What elements in the poem serve to make the contrast sharp?

2. Who is the speaker? What do we know about him?

3. What is his concept of himself?

4. How does American society appear to see him?

5. What does the speaker "wait" for in the closing verses?

6. What do you think is the meaning of "Seize the moment"?

7. Imagine yourself transported half way around the world to a land where the customs, the people and the language are totally alien to you. How would you act? React? What would be your feelings?

THE TROUBLE WITH LOSING FACE

is,

you

become

invisible

i never looked at my skin,
i knew it was yellow. . .
i played in the sun
all the time . . .
maybe i was indian.
i wore pigtails--
indians did too.
they didn't have
slanted eyes
though.
no one did but me
all the other kids
had
red hair
green eyes
long noses
funny spots on their
faces
tiny hairs growing
out of their eyes . . .
i didn't complain

i thought i was special
that's what my mother said
(you're better,
than them)
not in those exact words . . .
she didn't know those words
neither did my father--
but he tried to say them

i thought it was pretty funny,
like the other kids . . .
say something--
nay-hao-ma-ha-ha-ha
i had a nice friend
she came to visit
me
one day.
she asked me
what those funny
machines
were
in my house.
i couldn't make up
anything to say.

she wanted to make
her eyes
go up
like mine--
she combed her hair
into a tight
pony tail
to pull
her eyes--back.
i went to school
the house was too
crowded
i brought home
goody-goody marks
to my parents
so they could smile
because they worked all day
rinsing out the
bok guoi's
underwear
and forgot how to
smile
or laugh.
this limbo of
motionless flight--
my world hangs
faded
dingy
i love my brothers
and sisters
but i don't know
what they look like.
we used to play
house
together.
you look familiar
you are me
they are we
and i just became
an anti
anti-them
anti-us
anti-words
here's my
anti-parenthesis)(
one day
i wanted to have
a fit.
my father said
(no) (you can't)
angry. . .
i wanted to
break everything
in sight.
but impulse made me
glance
at the portrait
of grandfather
suspended over
the fireplace.
i vomited words
confucius is
alive . . .
crush confusionism
exterminate the seeds
of this
bao-bab.
i smeared a can
of red paint
over his eyes,
then i draped it
carefully
over the
honorable wrinkles
of his visage--
so. . .
this is losing face.
now I can
take off my
skin
without being watched
no, you can't. . .you can
"you're invisible now
you got no secrets
to conceal"
just open your
eyes--
but keep them
covered. . .
so no one
can see you.

MARIE CHUNG

This poem was written for an Asian American studies course at UCLA, in 1970. Miss Chung is a recent graduate in political science at the University of California, Los Angeles.

STEREOTYPE LESSON

Stereotyping (conceptual hypothesis): Stereotypes arise in almost any culture-contact situation. They are a response to an anxiety experienced by both groups involved, and they are developed on both sides. Stereotypes focus on those areas in which the two groups most often make contact. But rather than directing themselves at the communication inherent in the contact situation, the stereotypes emphasize those places where communication is impossible because of their focus on the places of greatest cultural "rub."

A stereotype will always exhibit the bias of the group which makes it up, and will, therefore, reflect its values, but in negative form. Example: Poem "The Trouble With Losing Face Is, You Become Invisible".

Strategy: Before examining the above poem have students form groups of five each and form a circle sitting on the tops of their desks. One by one, each student is to stand in front of every other student in the group for about a half minute. He is to carefully look at the student's face without speaking. Then he is to make one positive comment about the student. (There will be much giggling and uncomfortableness.) For example, "I like the color of your eyes." When this exercise is over, the following discussion questions are to be asked:

1. Were you uncomfortable?

2. Did you wish to hide your face?

3. What features did you expect to be complimented?

4. Were you surprised at the compliment given you?

5. If you had been a minority person of color, what compliment could you have expected?

(Note: The following experiential exercise is a preparation for examination of the above poem which is to be discussed in terms of stereotypes.)

1. What is the most obvious physical feature of a minority person?

2. How does the voice in the poem regard his color? Can you relate this to the hypothesis on stereotyping in reference to its values in a negative form? For example:

WHITE SOCIETY

	Positive values	Negative values	Positive values	Negative values
Physical Features	White is acceptable Round eyes are acceptable	"She wanted to make her eyes go up like mine..."	"I thought I was special..."	"They didn't have slanted eyes, though
Homes - Families	White homes are more familiar and acceptable	"Those funny machines in (the) house..."	"I love my brothers and sisters, but I don't know what they look like..."	"I couldn't make up anything to say."
School - Knowledge	Good grades are acceptable	Who is Confucius?	"Confucius is alive."	"Goody goody grades to my parents..."
Emotions	Anger is acceptable	inscrutable oriental	Control - do not lose face	"I wanted to have a fit. My father said no..."

3. What is the narrator seeing? What does invisible mean to the narrator?

4. What is the irony of being seen? (Asians all look alike.)
   What is the irony of being invisible? (Not to be seen as an individual person.)

A MINORITY VIEW OF HOW MOVIES AFFECT WHITE IDENTITY AND WORLD VIEW

"I was visiting an Indian school and a movie was being shown in the auditorium about the cavalry and the Indians. The cavalry was, of course, outnumbered and holding an impossible position where the Indians had chased them into the rocks. The Indians, attempting to sneak up on the cavalry, were being killed, one every shot. When it finally appeared that the Indians were going to overrun the army position the ubiquitous cavalry appeared on the far horizon with their bugle blowing, and charged to save the beleaguered few. The whole auditorium full of Indian students cheered."

Our Brother's Keeper: The Indian in White America

"It was a thrilling drama of love and death they saw silently reeled off; the scenes, laid at the court of an oriental despot, galloped past, full of gorgeousness and naked bodies, thirst of power and raving religious self-abnegation, full of cruelty, appetite and deathly lust, and slowing down to give a full view of the muscular development of the executioner's arms. Constructed, in short, to cater to the innermost desires of an onlooking, international civilization."

Thomas Mann, Magic Mountain....

"In their folksy way, movies intruded on our minds. Unobtrusively they lent us a hand in grinding a lens through which we could view the whole of the non-white world. Their images were powerful; their structure was satisfying.....

What does the typical Western, for example, do to us? Mostly, it forces us to flip history on its head. It makes the intruder exchange places in our eyes with the intruded upon. (Who ever heard of a movie in which the Indians wake up one morning to find that, at the periphery of their existences, in their own country, there are new and aggressive beings ready to make war on them, incomprehensible, unwilling to share, out to murder and kill, etc.) It is the Indians, in these films, who must invade, intrude, break in upon the circle -- a circle which contains all those whom the film has already certified as "human." No wonder the viewer identifies with those in the circle, not with the Indians left to patrol enigmatically the bluffs over-looking humanity. In essence, the viewer is forced behind the barrel of a repeating rifle, and it is from that position, through its gun sights, that he receives a picture history of Western colonialism and imperialism. Little wonder that he feels no sympathy for the enemy as they fall before his withering fire -- within this cinematic structure, the opportunity for such sympathy simply ceases to exist.

Such an approach not only transforms invasion into an act of self-defense; it also prepares its audiences for the acceptance of genocide. The theory is simple enough: We may not always be right (there are stupid commanders, etc.), but we are human. By any standards (offered in the film), "they" are not. What, then, are they? They are animate, thus they are, if not human, in some sense animals. And, for animals facing a human onslaught, the options are limited. Certain of the least menacing among them can be retained as pets. As a hunter trains his dog, these can be trained to be scouts, tracking down those of their kind who try to escape or resist, to be porters, to be servants. Those not needed as pets (who are nonetheless domesticable) can be maintained on preserves. The rest, fit neither for house training nor for cages, must be wiped out.

From the acceptance of such a framework flows the ability to accept as pleasurable, a relief, satisfying, the mass slaughter of the "non-human" -- the killing, mowing down of the non-white, hundreds to a film and normally in the scene which barely precedes the positive resolution of the relationships among the whites. Anyone who thinks the body count is a creation of the recent Indochinese war should look at the movies he saw as a kid. It was the implicit rule of those films that no less than ten Indian (Japanese, Chinese...) warriors should fall for each white, expendable secondary character.

Just as the style and substance of the Indian wars was a prototype for many later American intrusions into the third world (particularly the campaigns in the Philippines and Indochina), so movies about those wars provided the prototype from which nearly every American movie about the third world derived. That these third world movies are pale reflections of the framework, outlook, and even conventions of the cowboy movie is easy enough to demonstrate. Just a few examples, chosen almost at random from the thirty or forty films I've caught on T.V. in the last few months. Pick your country: the Mexico of toothy Pancho Villan bandits, the North Africa of encircled Foreign Legionaires, the India of embattled British Lancers, or even South Africa....

The overwhelmingly present theme of the non-humanness of the non-white prepares us to accept, without flinching, the extermination of our "enemies" (as John Wayne commented in The Searchers, 1956, there's "humans" and then there's "Comanches.") and just as surely it helped prepare the ideological way for the leveling and near-obliteration of three Asian areas in the course of three decades....

Another convention of films involving third world people concerns the pecking order of white and non-white societies when they come into conflict. It is a "united front" among whites. Often the whites portrayed are the highly romanticized third-rate flotsam and jetsam of a mythologized American society -- adventurers. prostitutes, opportunists, thieves (just as the films themselves, particularly when about Asia, tend to represent the brackish backwater of the American film industry.) Yet no matter how low, no matter what their internal squabbles, no matter what their hostilities towards each other, in relation to the third world, the whites stand as one.....

The audience is expected to carry two racial lessons away from films with third world people included. The first is that the presence of the incomprehensible and non-human brings out what is "human" in every man. Individual dignity, equality, fraternity, all that on which the West theoretically places premium value, are brought sharply into focus at the expense of "alien" beings. The second is the implicit statement that, in a pinch, any white is a step up from the rest of the world. They may be murderers, rapists, and mother-snatchers, but they're ours.

When the inhabitants of these countries emerge from the ferns or mottled huts, and try to climb to the edges of the spotlight, they find the possibilities limited indeed. In this cinematic pick-up-sides, the whites already have two hands on the bat handle before the contest begins. The set hierarchy of roles is structured something like this: All roles of positive authority are reserved for white characters. Among the whites, the men stand triumphantly at the top; their women cringe, sigh and faint below; and the Asians are left to scramble for what's left, like beggars at a refuse heap.

There is only one category in which a non-white is likely to come out top dog -- villain. With their stock of fanatical speeches and their propensity for odd tortures, third world villains provided the American film-maker with a handy receptacle for his audience's inchoate fears of the unknown and inhuman. Only as the repository for Evil could the non-white "triumph" in films. However, this is no small thing; for wherever there is a third world country, American scriptwriters have created villain slots to be filled by otherwise unemployable actors....

The other group of roles open to non-whites are roles of helplessness and dependence. At the dingy bottom of the scale of dependence crouch children. Non-white children have traditionally been a favorite for screenwriters and directors. Ingrid Bergman helped them across the mountains to safety (The Inn of the Sixth Happiness, 1958); Deborah Kerr taught them geography (The King and I, 1956); Humphrey Bogart helped them to memorize "My Old Kentucky Home" (Left Hand of God); Carrol Baker went with them on a great trek back to their homelands (Cheyenne Autumn, 1964); Charlton Heston took one (a little half-breed orphan girl -- sort of the black, one-eyed Jew of the tiny tot's universe) back to the States with him (55 Days at Peking). And so on.

Essentially, non-white children fulfill the same function and have the same effect as non-white villains. They reflect to the white audience just another facet of their own humanity. Of course, if you ignore W. C. Fields, children have had a traditionally cloying place in American films; but in the third world movie they provide a particularly strong dose of knee-jerk sentiment, allowing the white leads to show the other side of Western civilization. It is their duty not just to exterminate the world's evil forces, but to give to those less capable (and more needy) than themselves. And who more closely fits just such a description than the native child who may some day grow up to emulate us.

While it is children who demonstrate the natural impulses of the white authorities towards those who do not resist them, but are helpless before them or dependent upon them, it is women who prove the point. Even within the cinematic reflection of the white world, women have seldom held exalted positions. Normally they are daughters of missionaries, sweethearts of adventurers, daughters, nurses, wives on safari, schoolmarms, or prostitutes. (The exceptions usually being when women come under a "united front" ruling -- that is, they confront Asian men, not white men. Then, as with Anna in The King and I, while their occupations may not change, they face society on a somewhat different footing.) Several rungs down the social ladder, non-white women are left mainly with roles as bargirls, geishas, belly dancers, nurse's aides, missionary converts, harem girls, prostitutes. In such positions their significance and status depends totally on the generosity (or lack of generosity) of those white men around whom the movies revolve....

In the end, third world characters are considered expendable by both movemakers and their audiences because they are no more a source of "light" than the moon at night. They are there but to reflect in differing mirrors aspects of white humanity.

While extermination, dependency and expendability have been the steady diet of these movies over the decades, American moviemakers have not remained totally stagnant in their treatment of the third world and its inhabitants. They have, over the last forty years, emerged ponderously from a colonial world into a neo-colonial one. In the 1930's, the only decade when anything other than second-rate films were made about Asia, moviemakers had no hesitation about expressing an outright contempt for subjugated and/or powerless Asians; nor did they feel self-conscious about proudly portraying the colonial style in which most Westerners in Asia lived. The train in Shanghai Express (1932) is shown in all its "colonial" glory: the Chinese passengers crammed into crude compartments; the Westerners eating dinner in their

their spacious and elegant dining room. Here was the striking contrast between the rulers and the ruled and nobody saw any reason to hide it....

Within the context of American films involving third world people there is no possibility for presenting resistance, rebellion, or revolution by the intruded upon in a way that could be even comprehensible, no less sympathetic. Quite the opposite, the moviemakers are usually hell-bent on glorifying those Asians (or other third worlders) who allied with the Western invaders, not those who at some point resisted either the invasion or its consequences. However, there is an insoluble contradiction here. The method for judging non-whites in these films is based on how dependent or independent they are of the white leads and the white world. To the degree to which they are dependent, they are seen as closer to humanity. To the degree to which they are independent (i.e., resist) they are seen as less liable to humanization or outrightly inhuman and thus open to extermination. ("Mitchell, we must stamp this out immediately." Gunga Din. In other words, there is an inherent bias in these movies towards the glorification of those "natives" who have allied with us. Yet what makes the white hero so appealing is the audience's feeling that no matter how low he sinks, he retains some sense of human dignity. There is always that feeling (as Bogart and countless cowboy stars brought out so well) that despite appearances, he is his own man. Yet no movie Asians linked to the West can ever really be that. Though they can bask in the light of humanity, they can never be much more than imitation humans. In only one non-white role is this possibility open -- that is the role of villain (he who refuses white help and actively opposes him). Only the villain, already placed outside the pale (sic) of humanity, can be his own man.

The result is a knotty problem. If those close to the whites are invariably dependent, they cannot but be viewed in some way with contempt, no matter how the moviemakers go about trying to glorify them. On the other hand, if those most contemptible non-humans, the villains, are the only Asians capable of "independence" in these films, they are also the only Asians who are the cinematic equivalents of the white leads. Thus, we cannot help but have a sneaking respect for those who oppose us and a sneaking contempt for those who side with us. (How similar this is to the attitudes of many American soldiers in Vietnam towards ARVN and towards the NLF forces. No doubt this is at least partly responsible for the extremes American moviemakers have gone to in glorifying one and despoiling the other....

American movies about the third world should not be given more credit than is their due. Despite the impression you might get in the theatre, American moviemakers did not invent the world, nor even the version of world history they present in their films. However, they must be given full credit for developing a highly successful and satisfying cinematic form to encapsulate an existing ideological message. With this form, they have been able to relegate the great horrors of Western expansion into the rest of the world, and present-day American hegemony over great hunks of it, to another universe of pleasure and enjoyment. They have successfully tried extermination of non-white peoples to laughable relief, and white racial superiority to the natural order of things. They have destroyed any possibility for explaining the various ways in which non-white (not to speak of white) people could resist invasion, colonization, exploitation, and even mass slaughter.

Cowboy films are, in the end, a vast visual pacification program, ostensibly describing the rest of the world, but in fact aimed at the millions of people who for several generations have made up the American viewing audience. It's hardly a wonder that Vietnam did not sear the American consciousness. Why should it have? For years, Americans have been watching the whole scene on their screens: REV DEV, WHAM, endless My Lai's body counts, killing of wounded enemy soldiers, aerial obliteration, etc. We had grown used to seeing it, and thrilling with pleasure while reaching for another handful of popcorn.

Such a "pacification" program is based on the inundation principle. It is not a matter of quality (probably there have been no good films on Asia since the 1930's), but quantity. So many cowboy-third world movies have rolled factory-style off the production line that the most minute change of plot is hailed as a great innovation. In the end, all the visual "choices" available to a viewer just emphasize the way in which America is strikingly a one-channel country. In fact, it might not be too far wrong to say that while pacification may have failed in Vietnam, its pilot project here in America has generally succeeded; that we are a pacified population, living unknowingly in an occupied country.

PURPOSES OF THE ARTICLE -

To provide the students with another viewpoint from which to evaluate films.

To sensitize students to the subtle manner in which movies affect their view of the non-White world.

To encourage students to compare their own ideas about certain films with the author's concepts of these same films.

To make the student aware of the method by which essays achieve and maintain a subjective point of view.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS - FILMS AND STEREOTYPES

The author of this article makes the point that Hollywood has created stereotyped roles for third world parts in films. Many films, from the 20's through today, have pictured black, brown, red, and yellow men in uncomplimentary, inhuman, or subservient roles.

Our perception of the non-White races has, in part, been influenced by the countless films which are part of the experiences of almost all of us.

ASSIGNMENT

View a film (or films) from the list, or any other appropriate film (especially rich are those "late show" types on TV) and analyze carefully the role of the minority character(s).

In an oral presentation to the class, cover the following points:

1. A short summary of the film (be brief!!!).
2. Characterize the role of the minority person. Include here the person's job or position, relationship to the other characters, and the major image of the minority character.
3. Give examples of how the director created the image of the character. Include here things the character says or does.

4. Show how the character is fit to our existing stereotype of that particular race (lazy, sneaky, ignorant, etc.)

5. Suggest how the role might have been changed to convey a better image of the minority character.

6. Be prepared to lead a short class discussion on any of these points and to answer any questions about the film and the role of the minority character.

7. Although the article is fairly recent, there have been several movies released since its publication. Can you think of any recent films which present a complimentary image of non-Whites?

8. Many of the author's criticisms are sweeping. In any of the films he mentions or in any other older films, do you see exceptions to his general criticism that people of color are poorly represented by filmmakers?

9. The author presents, rather clearly and forcefully, a certain point of view - a certain attitude towards the material he discusses. What are the devices he uses to achieve and maintain this point of view? (Word choice, choice of examples, subjective statements, etc.)

10. List and discuss the reasons as to why so many minority character roles that were once considered acceptable by both minority and majority peoples are nowadays considered to be stereotyped and uncomplimentary.

11. Discuss the differences in image between a person who is White and a person who is Black if they are both playing similar roles as villains and/or as protagonists.

12. Discuss how movies and other forms of media have shaped your personal feelings and images of minority persons -- if you are White.
    -- if you are a person of color.

FILMS:

The following is a list of films which contain examples of what the article is dealing with:

Untamed (155)
Halls of Montezuma (1950)
The Searchers (1956)
The Big Parade (silent)
In Love and War (1956)
The Thing (1951)
Them (1954)
The Beast from 20,000 Fathoms (1954)
War of the Worlds (1953)
Invasion of the Body Snatchers (1956)
Red Dust (1932)
Mogambo
Krakatoa, East of Java (1969)
Blood Alley (1955)
Soldier of Fortune (1955)
Bandalero (1967)
The Chairman (1970)
Ambush at Cimarron Pass (1958)
Treasure of the Sierra Madre (1948)
The Left Hand of God (1955)
The General Died at Dawn (1936)
Shanghai Express (1932)
Seven Women (1965)
Charge of the Light Brigade (1936)
The Inn Of the Sixth Happiness (1958)
The King and I (1956)
Cheyenne Autumn (1964)
55 Days at Peking
The World of Suzie Wong (195?)
Gunga Din (1939)
Body and Soul (1947)
Something of Value(1957)
Shanghai Express (1932)
Wee Willie Winkie (1937)
Bhowani Junction (1956)
The Man Who Shot Liberty Valence (1962)
Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid (1969)
A Man Named Horse (1970)
Battle Circus (1953)
The Bridges at Toko-ri (1954)
She Wore a Yellow Ribbon (1949)
Fort Apache (1948)
Merrill's Marauders (1962)
The Enemy Below (1957)
The Purple Heart (1944)
Objective Burma (1945)
The Day the Earth Stood Still (1951)
Khyber Pass (1954)
The Next Voice You Hear (1950)
True Grit (1958)
Tell Them Willie Boy is Coming (1970)
Soldier Blue (1970)

BLACK LITERATURE:

The Best of Simple by Langston Hughes
Ways of the White Folks by Langston Hughes
Selections from I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings by Maya Angelo
The Fire Next Time by James Baldwin
Blues for Mr. Charley by James Baldwin
Black Symphony edited by James A. Emanuel and Theodore L. Gross

NATIVE AMERICAN LITERATURE:

American Indian Prose and Poetry edited by Margot Astrov
The Way edited by Shirley Hill Witt and Stan Steiner

MEXICAN AMERICAN LITERATURE:

Twenty-Two Miles
Yellow Pad by Arroyas
The Organizer's Tale by Cesar Chavez
"I Am Joaquin" poem and movie
The Chicanos edited by Ed Ludwig and James Santibanez

ASIAN AMERICAN LITERATURE:

Asian-American Authors edited by Kai-Yui Hsu and Helen Palubinskas
The Cauldron, Ting
Sojourner II compiled by the Berkeley Unified School District
Roots: An Asian American Reader by UCLA Asian American Studies Center

THE UNIT: Identity

SUPPLEMENTARY STUDENT PROJECTS

Project #1

Given copies of Life and Ebony magazines, construct a collage or bulletin board, juxtaposing in some interesting way the pictures and/or articles in these two issues.

Project #2

Write the format for a new television series designed to improve the image of one of the following groups in a realistic way: Asian Americans, Black Americans, Chicanos, Native Americans, American women. Include a description of the series, types of roles portrayed, and a sketch of a single program.

Project #3

List below at least 20 different roles you are required to play. Your list might begin in the following way:

I am a Presbyterian.
I am a rock 'n roll fan.
I am the only boy among five children.
I am the captain of my school's basketball team.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

9.

10.

11.

12.

13.

14.

15.

16.

17.

18.

19.

20.

Project #3 - continued

1. In which role or roles do you feel most comfortable? Why?

2. In which role or roles do you feel least comfortable? Why?

3. Which roles would you like to eliminate? Why?

4. Which roles would you like to be able to add to your list? Why?

5. What conclusions about yourself could a stranger draw from the above data?

SUPPLEMENTARY LITERATURE: Identity

A unit on identity may draw on these short works as supplements to the suggested works for study or in lieu of them.

ESSAYS:

Shooting an Elephant by George Orwell
Who Am I edited by Smiley, Raterno, Kaufman
Who Am I: Essays on the Alienated edited by Ned Hoopes
Of Wisdom for a Man's Self by Francis Bacon

SHORT STORIES:

Identity: Stories of This Generation by Klang
Dr. Heidegger's Experiment by Hawthorne

PLAYS:

Rhinoceros by Ionesco
A Doll's House by Ibsen
Hedda Gabler b y Ibsen
Pygmalion by George Bernard Shaw

SHORT NOVELS:

The Secret Sharer by Joseph Conrad

POETRY:

"The Unknown Citizen" by W. H. Auden
"Anyone Lived in a Pretty How Town" by e. e. cummings
"Richard Cory" by Edwin Arlington Robinson

FILMS: Identity

The following films deal with the theme of identity. They may be used as related activities in literature classes or as the core of a unit on identity in film classes.

WHERE IS PREJUDICE Part I
WHERE IS PREJUDICE Part II

These films picture twelve college students of different races and creeds participating in a workshop to test their common denial that they are prejudiced. They prove that prejudice exists in those who believe themselves to be unprejudiced. b/w 28 min. (San Mateo County Schools

I'M A MAN

From the heart of a ghetto to the conscience of white America, this film documents the personal and ideological struggle for freedom and manhood of black militant John Barber. Color 8 min. (San Mateo County Schools)

PICTURE IN YOUR MIND

Philip Stapp's animation presents the earliest roots of prejudice and the reasons why any group, tribe or nation thinks its way of life is superior to the other man's mode of living. A plea is made to every individual viewer to re-examine his own thinking. Color 16 min. (San Mateo County Schools)

HIGH WALL

This film uses a case history involving teenage gangs to present an analysis of the kind of background that fosters bigotry and other anti-social attitudes. b/w 32 min. (San Mateo County Schools)

STRING BEAN

The film focuses on an old woman's lavish affection for a plant and the faith and optimism of the woman who reveals her inner strength and beauty in coping with an act of harsh reality. Color 17 min. (San Mateo County Schools)

I AM ALSO A YOU

Through the eyes of today and the writings of biblical prophets, Buddha, the Talmud, Disraeli, Stanley Kubrick and other thinkers, this film examines man's idea of man. Color 13 min. (Pyramid Films)

MINORITY YOUTH: ADAM

Adam, an American Indian, speaks candidly about his cultural heritage and his place in today's society. He feels that there are misconceptions and stereotypes which are damaging to his people whose traditions and culture he admires. In the final analysis, he is an American with wants, abilities, and interests of his Anglo peers. Color 10 min. (Pyramid Films)

CHICANO

This film presents the discrimination which affect the Mexican American and the goals of the Chicano movement. It stimulates discussion about one of the central questions of all minority groups: Must the minorities deny their cultural heritage to have equal education, social, and economic opportunities, and meaningful participation in our society? Color 23 min. (Pyramid Films)

THE RED KITE

A father buys his daughter a kite. Before he succeeds in getting it to fly he must rethink his beliefs and struggle to redefine his own identity.
17 min. (ROA's Films - The Canadian Consulate)

WILLIE CATCHES ON

Even before he is ten years old Willie sees that although his parents are not unkind towards minorities, they indirectly teach him to see others as different. The film illustrates how a sure sense of discrimination is developed early in life and how one is able to adjust easily to a two-faced world. 24 min. (ROA's Films - McGraw Hill)

REMEDY FOR A RIOT

A commentary on the findings of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders, the film shows the effects of poverty and racism on black Americans.
b/w 37 min. (ROA's Films)

WHO SETS YOUR STANDARDS

The film shows how society's subtle pressures to buy, to conform, to change standards, to question moral values affect the lives of the children in the Harrison family who do not recognize these pressures until they are removed from society by settling into a cabin cut off without electricity, and no way to get out for several days. b/w color 30 min. (ROA's Films)

CHROMOPHOBIA

This film illustrates society's attempt to make conformists of all individuals through animation and the contrast between color and black and white.
Short (source unknown at present time)

TIME PIECE

A surrealistic film, a man's identity is questioned through time and space and his quest is intermittently pierced with cries for help. b/w 10 min. (The Canadian Consulate)

NOBODY WAVED GOODBYE

The film deals with an 18 year old boy at odds with society, confused, anxious, seeking a set of personal values more meaningful than those of his parents. This movie gives the teenager a world they recognize as the real one they are grappling with in their personal search for identity. 80 min. (National Film Board of Canada)

NOTHING BUT A MAN

This film depicts the struggles of a Black man trying to assert his manhood in face of discrimination and of the fierce blows to his ego when time and again he is beaten down by racism. Full length feature

REQUIEM FOR A HEAVYWEIGHT

Starring Anthony Quinn, Jackie Gleason, Mickey Rooney, and Julie Harris, this film shows the struggles of an older man who must seek a new self concept when he suddenly finds himself too old for the ring. His one goal is to survive as a human being with some semblance of dignity. 86 min. (ROA's Films)

PATCH OF BLUE

A blind girl grows in self awareness and understanding through the help of a young Negro portrayed by Sydney Poitier. The film raises questions about Black self concept as well as the difficulties the girl faces in asserting her growing independence. Full length feature

GUESS WHO'S COMING TO DINNER

Members of the affluent white middle class must confront their own unrecognized racism when the daughter introduces a young, successful Black as her fiance. Full length feature

DOLL'S HOUSE Part I - DESTRUCTION OF ILLUSION

The film presents Ibsen's play in a timely setting and shows Nora's growing awareness that she has been living in a fantasy world. The theme coincides with the current woman's liberation movement to destroy the stereotyped concept of woman as a doll instead of a unique human being. Color 28 min. (San Mateo County Schools)

THE HUMANITIES Lesson I - WHAT THEY ARE AND WHAT THEY DO

Clifton Fadiman introduces the humanities and uses examples of literature, photography and music to show the relevance of these forms in clarifying man's ideas and feelings about himself and about life. Color 28 min. (San Mateo County Schools)

DR. HEIDEGGER'S EXPERIMENT

The story deals with Hawthorne's favorite themes. It makes the point that we will not change even given the opportunity to relive our lives. Color 22 min. San Mateo County Schools)

HUCK FINN, Part I, WHAT DOES HUCK FINN SAY

This film deals with the book's intellectual content through Huck Finn's encounters with the external world and his internal conflicts. Color 27 min. (San Mateo County Schools)

RHINOCEROS

A remarkable visual translation from a play, this film treats the theme of conformity in concise and disturbing animation. Color 11 min. (San Mateo County Schools)

SECTION F

PROMISE AND PARADOX
ACTION PHASE: CHANGE WHAT? CHANGE HOW?

PROMISE AND PARADOX * ACTION PHASE: CHANGE WHAT? CHANGE HOW?

I. Change What? Concensus Seeking Strategy:

A. Have students complete the attached learning strategy: "Kerner Report: Seeking Concensus." In doing so they will rank Black grievances in order of seriousness as well as gain experience in reaching consensus within a group.

B. Have students fill out the attached chart comparing group and Black perceptions of the seriousness of the various grievances.

C. Ask students the following questions:

1. Are there differences between the views of the Blacks and the views of your group? What might explain those differences?

   a. Place on the board a list of possible hypotheses that might explain the differences.

   b. Might the racism and/or culture conflict hypotheses be useful for arriving at an explanation? (e.g. Blacks are more likely than Whites to perceive grievances that are in keeping with the racism hypothesis?)

2. Would a neutral observer consider the views of the Blacks or those of the group (represents the White majority) as being the most reliable and valid?

3. Should the White society act to meet the needs as perceived by the Blacks or as perceived by the Whites? Why?

II. Change How? Student Research Project Strategy:

A. Have students select one of the areas of grievance from part I that they would be interested in investigating (e.g. inadequate education). Note: Although the Kerner Strategy deals only with Black grievances, the student is encouraged at this point to consider the area as it relates to any racial minority.

B. Have each student analyze his area in keeping with both the racism hypothesis and the culture conflict hypothesis (See case studies, pages A37 - A39 of Promise and Paradox, for examples).

C. Have students decide which hypothesis (or parts of both) best describes the problem and the reason for its existence.

D. Have students research present public (government) and private programs designed to deal with their chosen area of grievance.

1. Describe the programs.

2. Indicate whether the program has had the racism hypothesis and/or the culture conflict hypothesis as an underlying premise.

3. Indicate their successes and failures and reasons for both.

E. Have students attempt to devise a new program to deal with their chosen area of grievance. This program should be consistent with the hypothesis chosen in part II-C (e.g. if the student feels the racism hypothesis best explains the inadequate education, his program should aim at altering White attitudes rather than eliminating the use of Spanish within Chicano homes).

Chart for Comparing Black and Group Perceptions of the Grievances

Directions: For each grievance, indicate the level of intensity assigned to it by Blacks and by the group.

	GRIEVANCES	BLACK PERCEPTION	GROUP PERCEPTION
e.g.	A. Discriminatory consumer and credit practices.	1	12
	A. Discriminatory consumer and credit practices.		
	B. Disrespectful White attitudes.		
	C. Poor recreation facilities and programs.		
	D. Police practices.		
	E. Inadequate housing.		
	F. Discriminatory administration of justice.		
	G. Inadequate welfare programs.		
	H. Inadequate education.		
	I. Inadequacy of federal programs.		
	J. Unemployment and underemployment.		
	K. Ineffectiveness of the political structure and grievance mechanisms.		
	L. Inadequacy of municipal services.		

Kerner Report: Seeking Concensus

Goals

I. To compare the results of individual decision-making with the results of group decision-making

II. To generate data to discuss decision-making patterns in task groups.

III. To diagnose the level of development in a task group.

Group Size

Between six and twelve participants. Several groups may be directed simultaneously in the same room.

Time Required

Approximately one hour.

Materials Utilized

I. Pencils

II. Individual Worksheets

III. Group Worksheets

IV. Kerner Report Actual Ranking Sheets

V. Direction Sheets for Scoring

Physical Setting

Participants should be seated around a square or round table. The dynamics of a group seated at a rectangular table are such that it gives too much control to persons seated at the ends. If there are no tables available, lapboards may be provided for participants seated in a circle.

Process

I. Each participant is given a copy of the Individual Worksheet and told that he has fifteen minutes to complete the task. He must work independently during this phase.

II. After fifteen minutes, the teacher interrupts to announce that a ranking must be made by the total group, using the method of group consensus.

III. The teacher hands one Group Worksheet to each group.

  A. Individuals are not to change any answers on their individual sheets as a result of a group discussion.

  B. A member of the group is chosen as recorder and ranks the Group Worksheet as consensus is reached for each item.

  C. The group has thirty minutes in which to complete the Group Worksheet.

IV. The recorder is given a copy of the Kerner Report Actual Ranking Sheet and the Direction Sheet for Scoring. He directs the scoring process.

  A. Participants are to score their Individual Worksheets.

  B. They will give their score to the recorder, who will compute the average of the individual scores.

  C. The recorder will then score the Group Worksheet.

V. The group will compare the average score for individuals with the group score and discuss the implications of the experience.

Kerner Report Individual Worksheet

Introduction

The U.S. Riot Commission Report (Kerner Report), in gathering data on twenty-four disorders in twenty-three cities, found that "Although specific grievances varied from city to city, at least twelve deeply held grievances can be identified and ranked into three levels of relative intensity."

Instructions

You are part of an evaluating team for the U.S. Riot Commission. Among the data gathered are twelve basic grievances of the Negroes involved in the rioting. Having reviewed all the data, you choose to rank the grievances under three levels of intensity:

First Level of Intensity

1. (   )
2. (   )
3. (   )

Second Level of Intensity

4. (   )
5. (   )
6. (   )

Third Level of Intensity

7. (   )
8. (   )
9. (   )
10. (   )
11. (   )
12. (   )

Individual Score (   )

List of Grievances to be ranked under the three levels.

A. Disciminatory consumer and credit practices.
B. Disrespectful white attitudes.
C. Poor recreation facilities and programs.
D. Police practices.
E. Inadequate housing.
F. Discriminatory administration of justice.
G. Inadequate welfare programs.
H. Inadequate education.
I. Inadequacy of federal programs.
J. Unemployment and underemployment.
K. Ineffectiveness of the political structure and grievance mechanisms.
L. Inadequacy of municipal services.

Kerner Report Group Worksheet

Page 1

Instructions

This is an exercise in group decision-making. Your group is to employ the method of group consensus in reaching its decision. This means that the placement under level of intensity for each of the twelve grievances must be agreed upon by each group member before it becomes a part of the group decision. Concensus is difficult to reach. Therefore, not every ranking will meet with everyone's complete approval. Try, as a group, to make each ranking one with which all group members can at least partially agree. Here are some guides to use in reaching concensus:

1. Avoid arguing for your own individual judgements. Approach the task on the basis of logic.

2. Avoid changing your mind only in order to reach agreement and avoid conflict. Support only solutions with which you are able to agree somewhat, at least.

3. Avoid "conflict-reducing" techniques such as majority vote, averaging, or trading, in reaching your decision.

4. View differences of opinion as helpful rather than as a hindrance in decision-making.

Kerner Report Group Worksheet

Page 2

First Level of Intensity

1. ( )
2. ( )
3. ( )

Second Level of Intensity

4. ( )
5. ( )
6. ( )

Third Level of Intensity

7. ( )
8. ( )
9. ( )
10. ( )
11. ( )
12. ( )

Group Score ( )
Average Individual Score ( )

List of Grievances to be ranked under the three levels

A. Discriminatory consumer and credit practices.
B. Disrespectful white attitudes.
C. Poor recreation facilities and programs.
D. Police practices.
E. Inadequate housing.
F. Discriminatory administration of justice.
G. Inadequate welfare programs.
H. Inadequate education.
I. Inadequacy of federal programs.
J. Unemployment and underemployment.
K. Ineffectiveness of the political structure and grievance mechanisms.
L. Inadequacy of municipal services.

Kerner Report Actual Ranking Sheet

First Level of Intensity

1. D Police practices.
2. J Unemployment and underemployment.
3. E Inadequate housing.

Second Level of Intensity

4. H Inadequate education.
5. C Poor recreation facilities and programs.
6. K Ineffectiveness of the political structure and grievance mechanisms.

Third Level of Intensity

7. B Disrespectful white attitudes.
8. F Discriminatory administration of justice.
9. I Inadequacy of federal programs.
10. L Inadequacy of municipal services.
11. A Discriminatory consumer and credit practices.
12. G Inadequate welfare programs.

Note: The goal of the exercise was to rank the grievances under three levels of intensity. It was not necessary to have placed each grievance in the exact order in which it appears in the actual report.

Kerner Report Direction Sheet for Scoring

The group recorder will assume the responsibility for directing the scoring:

1. He will read the Actual Ranking Sheet to the group and ask participants to total the number of grievances placed under the correct level of intensity and report their scores to him.

2. He will total all individual scores and divide by the number of participants to arrive at an average individual score.

3. He will then score the group worksheet.

Ratings:

10-12	Excellent
7- 9	Good
5- 6	Average
3-44	Fair
0- 2	Poor

MISCELLANEOUS MATERIALS

VIDEO TAPES

Available through Human Relations Department or Social Studies Curriculum Center.

Chinatown Tape & Japanese Interview (F 56)

The Chinatown Tape is made of slides and pictures narrated by one of the consultants. The tape is a history of the Chinese in American and why Chinatown exists. It is a look behind the scenes that the tourist does not see. (thirty minutes)

The second part of this tape is an interview with a Japanese American who talks about his experiences in America and the problems that one of an Asian background has.

The White Liberal (F 55)

This is a skit done by members of the workshop to show the White liberal in the worst sense of the term. At the conclusion of the tape, one of the consultants talks about the type of help that should be offered.

Four Aspects of Racism (F 54)

This tape was made by various members of the workshop who consider the following subjects:

1. The External-Internal Model:

   This section of the tape is about sixteen minutes, and it offers a consideration of the two approaches to why racism exists in America. (sixteen minutes)

2. Introduction to the Alex Haley Tape:

   Asa Hilliard talks about the search for identity as shown through Alex Haley's experience. There is also considerable historic background of the development of racism. (thirty minutes)

3. The Black Man In America:

   This is an interview to consider the question of the improvement of the economic-social position of the Black man in America. (six minutes)

4. Racism and the Dominant Race:

   This is a discussion of racism in America and the reasons why the dominant group continues to encourage racism. The effects of racism on both groups is the focus. (fifteen minutes)

Workshop Expressions (F 51)

This tape was made by several members of the workshop, and they consider the following subjects:

1. The "double standard" in high school. (four minutes)
2. Help for the Native Americans (three minutes)
3. Asian Identity (seventeen minutes)
4. Racism Vignettes (ten minutes)

A Tour With A Japanese Artist (D 32)

This tape was made in the Oakland Museum. We are taken on tour by the artist, Mine Okubo, as she describes the development of her work from college, through interment camp, and to her final self-expression of her Asian identity. It is a beautiful expression by a very lovely human being. (thirty minutes)

Teaching An Identity Unit (E 9)

One of the members of the workshop "borrowed" a class at Hillsdale and taught a short unit on identity to this class. The unit could be used in either an English or history class. The class reactions to the unit may be of particular interest. (thirty minutes)

Another White Liberal (E 7)

This is a skit done by two members of the workshop. Here the problems of help and what kind of help are considered. (fifteen minutes)

American Indian Tape (F 8)

This tape was taken from a recent program on T.V., but the tape is a discussion show and is dated by the Indian occupation of Alcatraz. (one hour)

Racism In America (F 53)

This tape is an introduction to the problems that the workshop has considered. It is a panel discussion by the consultants to the workshop, and each brings his own ideas to focus during the tape. (one hour)

Introductory Unit On Racism (E 8)

Two members of the workshop taught an introductory racism unit to a summer school class at Hillsdale. The tape shows some of the student reactions to the unit, and the tape may suggest ideas to other teachers on how they might develop the unit further. (thirty minutes)

Yo Soy Chicano

This is a tape taken from the T.V. production. It gives good historical background of the Chicano movement here in America, and brings the concept of the Chicano up to the present time. After all, it's NBC! (one hour)

OTHER TAPES AVAILABLE

Raisin In The Sun (two hours)

To Be Young, Gifted and Black (one hour)

This tape shows the life of Lorraine Hansberry.

To Kill A Mocking Bird (two hours)

Ike Tribble and Eileen Hernandez (one hour)

This tape was made several years ago for an in-service workshop of elementary teachers in San Mateo. Both speakers concentrate on the problems that teachers must recognize in themselves, and the information is timeless.

What Is An American Indian (one hour)

An American Indian talking to an English class in an attempt to enlarge the student concept of an Indian.

SUPPLEMENTARY LITERATURE

Black Literature
- Durango Street - Frank Bonham
- Ceremonies in Dark Old Men - Elder
- South Town - Graham
- Nigger - Gregory
- Raisin In The Sun - Hansbury
- Autobiography of Malcolm X - with Alex Haley
- Great White Hope - Sackler
- Black Boy - Wright
- Native Son - Wright
- Ways of the White Folks - Langston Hughes
- Invisible Man - Ellison
- Manchild in the Promised Land - C. Brown

(White authors about Blacks)
- The Sound and the Fury - Faulkner
- To Kill a Mocking Bird - Lee
- Huck Finn - Twain
- Uncle Tom's Cabin - Stowe
- Puddin Head Wilson - Twain
- Confessions of Nat Turner - Styron
- Black Like Me - John Howard Griffin

Native American:
- When Legends Die - Hal Borland
- The Way - Shirley Hill Witt & Stan Steiner
- Indians - Kopit (play)
- Laughing Boy - La Farge
- Little Big Man - Berger
- Stay Away Joe - Dan Cushman
- Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee - Dee Brown
- House Made of Dawn - (difficult book)
- The Man Who Killed the Deer - Frank Waters
- A Woman of the People - Benjamin Capps

Mexican American:
- West Side Story - Saulman
- The Pearl - Steinbeck
- Tortilla Flat - Steinbeck
- The Chicano (Short Stories & Essays)

Asian-American:
- Asian American Authors - Kai-Yu Hsu & Helen Palubinskas
- No, No Boy - John Okada
- Nisei Girl - Monica Sone
- Citizen 13660 - Mine Okubo
- Fifth Chinese Daughter - Jade Snow Wong
- Roots An Asian American Reader - UCLA Asian American Studies Center
- Ting, The Cauldron - Glide Foundation
- TREK - (literary magazine of Japanese Concentration Camp)
- Images of Asia - Harold Issacs
- From Japs to Japanese - Evolution of Japanese American Stereotypes - Dennis Ogawa
- To Serve the Devil, Volume II- Jacobs & Landau

The Fearless

SPECTATOR

Charles McCabe

* *

NO ROOM AT THE INN

When was the last time you heard that expression, melting pot? It used to be one of the great glories of our American democracy, that process whereby Europeans from the ghettoes and hard-scrabble farms of Europe were melted down and turned into something that could be called, and with pride, Americans.

Old lady Liberty herself, proud outside Staten Island, welcomed those huddled millions, and gave them the promise of a new life. That was big talk; but no bigger than the reality which came out of it. The cockney and the paisano, the Greek fishmonger and Norwegian sailor, the Paris schoolteacher and the Berlin manufacturer, all went into the pot and emerged Jeffersonian or Hamiltonian, mostly the former. It was a mixture of which any nation could be proud.

But you don't hear much about the melting pot concept any more. For a good reason. It doesn't exist, much, any more. Now we hear ethnic.

What a difference!

As I recall, the phrase melting pot was invented by Israel Zangwill, the New York Jewish-American publicist, in the late 19th century. When first used, i was more a hope for the immigrant Jew than a description of a result. The time of the immigrant Jew had not quite come, although the prosperous Jews who came here after the ferments of 1848 had done well and earned respect.

* * *

At the turn of the century, roughly, the Germans and the Swedes had made it. They made it for the usual Nordic reasons: by their industry, and by their quiet and orderly habits. Behind the Germans, the Irish were coming out of the "No Irish Need Apply" era and were pushing hard. The Jewish immigrants were pushing hard, right behind. The Italians were lagging, for their own perfectly good reasons. When they really started, in the 1930s, the Italians pushed very hard, and made it gloriously. The melting pot was still boiling, merrily.

Something happened to the whole notion, though. Now, the people who are outside it are really outside it. None of us who got into the old pot wants them in. Whereas the old idea was to get everybody IN, somehow, the new idea is to keep everybody out.

In the New York of my youth, Irish and Italians fought like mad creatures; but the groups divined that there was a notion abroad that both classes would be ultimately absorbed into the common aims of a common society. No such certainty exists for the minorities today. There's literally no room at the inn for them.

* * *

The word "ethnic" is the most tediously overworked word in the American vocabulary of today, with the possible exception of ecology. You hear it everywhere. Worse, it's supposed to mean something. Supposed to be some kind of short-hand explanation of what is going on in the Other society. Somebody describes some gross injustice to, or springing from, an Indian or a Mexican-American, and the almost-automatic reply is, "Oh, that's ethnic." The incantation, in fact, is an exorcism, a device to avoid facing the truth. The truth is the melting pot won't take any dark meat. This has been decided by the original settlers who put up the pot in the first place and by those later immigrants who went into it.

* * *

We have yet to decide that black is beautiful. Glib black television actors and announcers will never make us think so. You can never like something you're guilty about. We are guilty, and terribly, about the way we act about color, because we know our country wasn't meant to be that way.

The recent immigrant strain is the most intolerant of all, because we have the most to lose. A colored man is bad enough. A colored man who is strong enough and smart enough to take our job away from us, and maybe our wife too, is quite literally beyond the pale. This is what a fearsome society has done to the great idea of the melting pot.